DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 130 500 FL 007 934

TITLE	Sociolinguistics: A Crossdisciplinary Perspective.
INSTITUTION	Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Va.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	71
NOTE	157p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$8.69 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	American English; Anthropology; Child Language; Communicative Competence (Languages); *Conference Reports; Descriptive Linguistics; *Dialect Studies; Early Childhood Education; *Interdisciplinary Approach; *Language Research; Minority Groups; Nonstandard Dialects; Psychology; Research Needs; *Social Dialects; Social Factors; *Sociolinguistics; Speech Education; Standard Spoken Usage
IDENTIFIERS	Black English

ABSTRACT

This volume contains an edited version of the papers presented at a 1969 conference called by the Center for Applied Linguistics in an effort to provide information to researchers, teachers, and administrators from various fields who have seen social dialects as contributing to the complexity of their disciplines. Ten scholars represented the following fields: speech/communication, psychology, education, sociolinguistics, and linguistics/anthropology. One scholar from each field presented the research assumptions of his field; a second scholar presented a response. The papers and responses are as follows: (1) "Social Dialects and the Field of Speech" by F. Williams, response by O.L. Taylor; (2) "Developmental Studies of Communicative Competence" by H. Osser, response by V. John; (3) "Social Dialects in Developmental Sociolinguistics" by S.M. Ervin-Tripp, response by C.M. Kernan; (4) "Approaches to Social Dialects in Early Childhood Education" by C. Cazden, response by R.D. Hess; (5) "Social Dialects from a Linguistic Perspective" by W. Wolfram, response by W.J. Samarin. In addition, "The Inadequacies of the Linguistic Approach in Teaching Situations" was presented by S. Engelmann. (Author/AM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

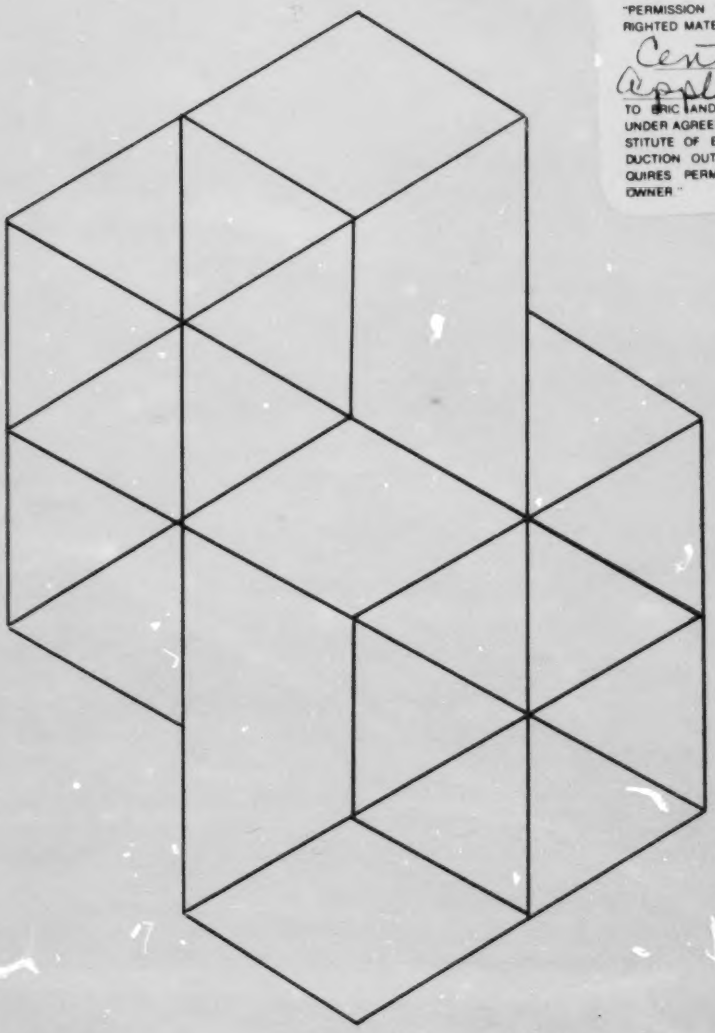
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED130500

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

A Crossdisciplinary Perspective

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Center for Applied Linguistics
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."



FL007934

This work was developed pursuant to a contract between the United States Office of Education and the Center for Applied Linguistics and is published with the permission of the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

A publication of the Center for Applied Linguistics
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

ISBN: 87281-028-3
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 76-168544
Printed in the United States of America

PREFACE

One of the truly disarming aspects of the development of any field of study is that as it comes closer and closer to telling the truth, the truth that it tries to tell becomes harder and harder to understand. The social sciences have recently undergone a kind of crisis of confidence in which increased complexity of the field has made it difficult for non-social scientists to interpret the findings. One important aspect of this crisis of confidence stems from the predictable public dependence on common sense despite research evidence which gives entirely different indications. Thus, in an area such as social dialects, common sense tells a person that since Standard English is a good thing, it is therefore good to learn it as soon as possible. Yet no research evidence points to this position and, in fact, there is much to indicate that this common sense approach is clearly wrong.

When one studies an area such as social dialects, the variables multiply at a tremendous rate. For one thing, the study is not of language in a pristine vacuum but, rather, in relationship to a number of other things such as social status, cognition, audience, intention, context, emotional state, etc. As such, the study of social dialects has attracted the recent attention of specialists from a number of fields such as speech, linguistics, psychology, education and the social sciences. The effective research findings of such specialists can be characterized as interdisciplinary. As a specialist moves deeper and deeper into this network of intersecting disciplines he finds that he must learn more and more about their research assumptions, their published literature and their aims. Yet it is not to be expected that all specialists will come upon this interdisciplinary perspective at the same time, for the history of the academic world has never evidenced such a predisposition.

In an effort to bring enlightenment to researchers, teachers and administrators from various fields who have recently seen social dialects as contributing to the complexity of their discipline, a special, two-day conference was called by the Center for Applied Linguistics in October, 1969. Invited to this conference were ten scholars, two representing each

of the five fields of speech/communication, psychology, education, sociolinguistics, and linguistics/anthropology. In each of these five fields one scholar prepared a paper which set out the research assumptions of the discipline he represented, briefly described the major research and indicated the most useful directions for future research. A second representative of each field saw this paper in advance of the conference, and developed a short response. Time was also allotted for discussion among all participants. Participants at this conference were:

SPEECH/COMMUNICATION

Frederick Williams, University of Texas
Orlando L. Taylor, Center for Applied Linguistics

PSYCHOLOGY

Harry Osser, San Francisco State University
Vera John, Yeshiva University

EDUCATION

Courtney B. Cazden, Harvard University
Robert D. Hess, Stanford University

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Susan M. Ervin-Tripp, University of California
Claudia Mitchell Kernan, Harvard University

LINGUISTICS/ANTHROPOLOGY

Walter A. Wolfram, Center for Applied Linguistics
William J. Samarin, Toronto University

Others in attendance for part or all of the conference were:

Albert Storm, United States Office of Education
Raymond Rackley, United States Office of Education
Susan Gordon, United States Office of Education
Joan C. Baratz, Education Study Center
Irwin Feigenbaum, Center for Applied Linguistics
Alfred S. Hayes, Center for Applied Linguistics

The following are edited versions, some slightly and some substantially, of the papers presented at the conference.

Roger W. Shuy
Washington, D.C.

June 1971

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE iii

SOCIAL DIALECTS AND THE FIELD OF SPEECH 1
by Frederick Williams

RESPONSE by Orlando L. Taylor 13

DEVELOPMENTAL STUDIES OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE 21
by Harry Osser

RESPONSE by Vera John 31

SOCIAL DIALECTS IN DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS 35
by Susan M. Ervin-Tripp

RESPONSE by Claudia Mitchell Kernan 65

APPROACHES TO SOCIAL DIALECTS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION 70
by Courtney Cazden

RESPONSE by Robert D. Hess 82

SOCIAL DIALECTS FROM A LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE 86
by Walt Wolfram

RESPONSE by William J. Samarin 136

THE INADEQUACIES OF THE LINGUISTIC APPROACH
IN TEACHING SITUATIONS 141
by Sigfried Engelmann

SOCIAL DIALECTS AND THE FIELD OF SPEECH

Frederick Williams, Center for Communication Research, University of Texas

Introduction

It would be more apt to title this paper "The Fields of Speech" since in terms of academic representation, content, emphasis, and even professional organizations, what is called speech is now found in two almost separate disciplines. One of these disciplines is represented mainly by speech pathologists, speech scientists, audiologists, and speech therapists. It is frequently labeled "speech and hearing" (the label I will use) or "communicative disorders" as a university department. Its professional organization is the American Speech and Hearing Association.[1] Its main national publications are ASHA, Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, and Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders. The second discipline is represented mainly by persons concerned with the teaching of speech, ideas in the tradition of rhetorical theory, the history of public discourse, and the psychological study of communication behavior. It is frequently called "general speech" (the label I will use) or "speech" as a university department. Its professional organization is the Speech Communication Association.[2] Its main national publications are the Quarterly Journal of Speech, Speech Monographs, Speech Teacher, and Spectra.

Research Assumptions

There is a major discrepancy in both fields between what researchers are saying about social dialects and the speech clinician or the speech teacher is doing in everyday practice. This discrepancy seems due not only to the usual gap between research and practice, but also to the fact that social dialects have only recently received research attention in the speech fields. The literature has only recently begun to reflect upon the consequences that social dialect research has upon the implicit, long held assumptions that the normal (for the speech clinician) or the correct (for the speech teacher) are defined in terms of the grammar of standard English or in the typical behavior of its users.

Practices of the speech clinician focus mainly upon the behavior of

young children (preschool to early grades) who have either been screened out from a larger population of children routinely tested, or who have been referred for clinical evaluation by parent, physician, or teacher. The scoring procedures and norms of many well-known diagnostic techniques (Templin-Darley Articulation Test, Goldman-Fristoe Articulation Test, Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability) are clearly biased to the grammar of standard English (or the behavior of its users). I know of no widely used textbooks in this area which say much about the consequences of social dialects for such tests nor even anything regarding the practices of the speech clinician.

This same bias is seen in the general speech field mainly in its textbooks or in the activities of speech teachers who deal with secondary or college students, typically in the language-arts type speech course. Here the emphasis is often upon the prescriptions found in the "polished" speaker of standard English. Such prescriptions may range from so-called "correct" pronunciation and word usage to even a speaker's overall image ("put on a tie the day you speak").

Where current research (or the call for research) involves problems of social dialect, both fields do reflect some recognition of the problems perpetuated by the practices just described. In short, an emerging assumption of the researchers, at least, is that we need to know more about the nature of social dialects and their implications for clinical and educational practices.

Research Review

Here it will be most useful to describe the fields separately.

Speech and hearing. Earlier studies which relate somewhat to social dialect are Irwin's (1948a,b) studies of social class differences in infant speech development, and the language development monographs by McCarthy (1930) and Templin (1957). These are mentioned not because of their research value but because they have probably influenced the attitudes of many persons within the field of speech and hearing. The generalization which has survived the details of all of these reports is that social class differences are found in children's language performances.

Attitudes concerning the language problems of the poverty child in America were found more recently in a paper by Raph (1967) which viewed

the poverty child as generally lagging in language development. Although this was more a subjective series of observations than outright research, it has been influential in shaping clinical attitudes toward the poverty child. But it has also raised major counterarguments. Replies to Raph by Weber (1968) and Baratz (1968) warned of confusing dialect differences with deficiencies. However, even in a recent issue of the Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, a paper (Gerber and Hertel, 1969) reports on the "deficiencies" of poverty children relative to their performance on the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability.

Perhaps the most significant research within the field which does bear upon the differences-deficiency issue is that associated with Joan Baratz and her colleagues (see Baratz, 1969 for a review). Essentially this has involved comparative testing of children's performances when language materials are in their primary dialect. For example, she has found that inner city Black children and suburban white children do equally well in repeating sentence stimuli when such stimuli are represented in their respective dialects.

Although Baratz, in particular, has argued the difference side of the issue, little research has been mounted to test directly the deficiency-difference issue as an alternative hypothesis. Mostly, the interpretations of deficiency are reported without recognition of other possible explanations. Even when the two explanations have been contrasted, it has been in the context of an ex-post-facto analysis (Williams and Naremore, 1969a,b).

Within the next two years one major research project conducted by persons in speech and hearing could add some contribution to the literature on social dialects. This is the National Speech and Hearing Survey conducted by Hull and his colleagues at Colorado State University (Hull and Timmons, 1966). In this survey, some 30,000 school children, representing a national sample, were tested in terms of auditory and articulatory behaviors, including some attempts to elicit free speech. Although the amount of language sample from each child may be limited, the data do seem sufficient for certain types of linguistic assessment.

Perhaps most representative of the speech and hearing researcher's current attitudes toward studies of social dialect is a new chapter for the revised edition of Travis's Handbook of Speech Pathology prepared by

Shriner (in press). Though titled "Sociolinguistics and Language," it reflects the status of social dialect research as filtered through the priorities and biases of a researcher in speech and hearing. The status of the deficiency-difference argument as it is interpreted for the speech clinician has been recently reviewed in a forthcoming chapter by Yoder.

General speech. With some minor exceptions (e.g. Harms, 1961; Buck, 1968), little research on social dialects has been traditionally found in the journals of the general speech field. A recent paper by Williams and Naremore (1969a) although not dealing with social dialect per se, does treat social class and ethnic differences in the "functional" use of speech by children in interview situations. This paper presents an interpretation of Bernstein's hypothesis about the correlation between social class and his restricted-elaborated code dichotomy. Another recent paper (Wood, 1969) reports the results of a study where a fieldworker's dialect (standard English vs. Negro nonstandard) was varied in order to assess the consequences upon the responses of Black teen-age girls.

The high priority given to needed research in the social dialect area and the implications for the general speech field is seen in a number of special conferences. One, held in January 1968 (Work, 1968), brought together the representatives of some 14 national organizations to discuss research needs. Social class differences in speech received some research emphasis in the published report (Kibler and Barker, 1969) of a developmental conference concerning the directions for behavioral sciences research in speech. Finally, a summer conference on the "social relevance" of the profession (Roever, 1969) devoted substantial emphasis to language problems. Despite such conferences, research along these lines is still sparse in the field, and neither the discussion about research nor the little that has been done has had noticeable effect upon speech education practices.

In passing, it appears as if the journal Speech Teacher is devoting increasing attention to papers relevant to the practical aspects of social dialect research. Representative papers include reports on the Indian student (Osborn, 1968), implications of psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic research (Wood, 1968), and special programs for the so-called "disadvantaged" (Hawkins, 1969; Conville, 1969; Gregg, Pederson, and McCormack, in press; Sinzinger, in press).

Both fields: on strengths and weaknesses. Obviously, neither general speech nor speech and hearing are known for significant research into social dialects. But a current strength is that the professional associations of both areas do recognize the pertinence of social dialect research to their respective practical obligations in the clinical and instructional aspects of speech. Members of the American Speech and Hearing Association have special committees devoted to "Language" and to "Urban Language." Speech Communication Association members have special committees which variously deal with social dialect problems, these include: "Educational Policies and Practices," "Language," and "Speech Evaluation." Perhaps, then, insofar as members of these fields have the interests and competencies to undertake research related to social dialects, ideas and priorities have been developed to guide and assist their efforts.

By contrast the weakness is that little concerted effort seems underway in either field to "target" the results of social dialect research (from either in or outside of the speech fields) to their practitioners. That is to say, practices in the clinic and in the classroom seem unchanged even in light of the increasing amount of knowledge being gained from social dialect research. It is in this realm that speech research in social dialect could be so importantly directed. Given what we are learning about social dialects, what kinds of research will aid us in making the best implementation of it in the clinic and classroom? Some evidence of a lead taken in this direction is the annual Lincolnland Conference on Dialectology, which is conducted by the Department of Speech Pathology and Audiology at Eastern Illinois University (Griffith and Miner, 1970).

Suggestions for Research

There seems to be no reason to ask that researchers in general speech or speech and hearing try to improve upon the type of social dialect research conducted by linguists such as Labov and his colleagues (e.g. Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis, 1969) or Shuy and his colleagues (Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley, 1968). Obviously it will be of benefit to all to have such programs expanded and new ones developed by other linguists. Where the speech fields may contribute most is in those areas involving behavioral aspects of dialect and in those areas where research is targeted to the speech

practitioner. These guidelines are variously represented in the specific suggestions which follow.

Differentiation of deficiencies from differences. It seems of utmost priority that diagnostic techniques be developed which do not confuse social dialect differences with deficiencies of language. Presumably, any child who meets the natural demands of his primary speech community is developing normally. The problem is that current diagnostic procedures may trap a child into trying to meet the performance demands of a community other than his primary one. As already mentioned, this typically occurs on tests where the grammatical criteria are based solely upon standard English or where developmental norms have been based upon the behavior of users of standard English.

What is needed, then, are procedures that (ideally) test for development in terms of linguistic universals or ones which are adapted to the child's primary dialect community. Research into such procedures would, of course, involve the cooperation of psycholinguists and sociolinguists, but the speech researcher would be a highly important additional member of the team. It is the speech researcher who can contribute a knowledge of the actual and practical speech behavior of children, and it is the speech practitioner who so often would be required to use the diagnostic procedures that are developed.

Performance studies adapted to dialect differences. If non-standard dialects have served as barriers for children on language tests and inhibited their performances on other tests (e.g. IQ), and so on, then given a knowledge of such children's dialects we ought to be able to gauge what they do know. Thus, for example, if Baratz (1969) finds that inner city Black children perform well on a sentence repetition task when materials are in their dialect, what would performance be in some task going beyond repetition--that is some task involving interpretation of the sentences? In short, if the "dialect barrier" is accommodated, will that alleviate barriers to linguistic, communicative, and cognitive performances?

Auditory discrimination and articulation. If dialect biases are either removed or controlled in assessments of auditory discrimination, articulation, and reading development, then the oft-cited linkage among these could be adequately tested. Much attention has been focused upon the speculation (e.g. Deutsch, 1964) that children from the lower socioeconomic

classes are reared in "noisy" environments where development in auditory discrimination is impaired, and this leads to impairment of primary and secondary language skills such as articulation and reading. I know of no existing research that has successfully ruled out the dialect factor in investigating this reasoning.

Speech development and reading readiness. Much has been said about how learning to read depends upon the status of speech development, yet we know very little about the specific aspects of speech development which may play this crucial role. No doubt, some of the results of social dialect research should be a resource for hypothesizing factors of reading readiness that would be dialect-specific. That is, what dialect features might interfere with learning to read in standard English; what dialect features should be acquired orally prior to learning to read? Such research should indicate specific directions for strategies such as adapting reading materials to dialect differences, or focusing instruction upon certain facets of speech development for purposes of reading readiness.

Communication development. No person who has seriously studied social dialects can escape noting the fact that dialect is inextricably tied to the communicative demands of a culture or subculture. That is, what a child learns of a dialect also represents what he has learned in the process of becoming a communicator-member of a social structure. He not only learns how to say something, but when to say it. Thus it is one thing to talk about a Black child's dialect, but if we want to study this dialect in terms of the Black child's existence we have to broaden our attention to his communication behaviors (e.g. playing the "dozens"). Put into research terms, what are the special communicative demands imposed upon children of different social classes and ethnicities? How do the details of a social dialect enter into the communication demands of a subculture? Does the teaching of alternative dialects require that we also teach about different types of communication situations and demands? Some of the prior research by Hess and his colleagues (see Hess et al., 1968) initiated work in this area--i.e. in how maternal language styles affected child development. Few have followed this lead, if only to bring improved methods of linguistic or communication description to bear upon similar data, or to research the speculations of persons such as Hymes (in press) or Bernstein (1970).

Speech styles. Contemporary dialectologists have reminded us that any informant does not represent a fixed set of dialect features, but that we must recognize ranges of features and how they vary according to situations of usage. I refer here to Labov's (1966) concept of socially conditioned variation. One way of classifying ranges is in terms of a continuum of informal to formal speech styles. But despite our familiarity with the notion of this continuum, we have little objective knowledge about it. This is the type of research that can benefit from a communication orientation rather than strictly a linguistic one. What situational variables affect the learning and differentiation of speech styles? How can we best assess a person's range of styles? In teaching alternative dialects, how can styles be taken into account? What are the relations between speech styles and reading readiness in children?

Attitudinal correlates of speech characteristics. As pointed out well by Labov (1966) the social stratification of dialect features has its correlate in the social attitudes toward such features. We have long known how dialect features are cues for determining the ethnicity or social status of an individual (e.g. Harms, 1961). How do attitudinal correlates reflect social stereotyping and hence one's overall behavior toward an individual? In my own research (Williams, 1970) I have found that teachers will readily and consistently identify a child's social status or ethnicity, based upon hearing a brief sample of his speech. Often, however, the teachers are "wrong," in that, for example, they may rate a Black child as being white and of high status simply because he is speaking standard English. In predicting such ratings, I have found, too, that even relatively unimportant dialect features from a linguistic standpoint may serve as highly pertinent attitudinal cues. This prompts in my mind, the picture created by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) about self-fulfilling prophecies in the classroom. That is, if an attitude about a child is instilled in a teacher, it will have a substantial effect upon her treatment of the child. Perhaps dialect characteristics and their attitudinal correlates are one of the unfortunate parts of this process in the classroom. Materials that I have seen for Headstart may create this attitude before a teacher would ever meet a child.

Another point is that if we are to teach alternative dialects, how will attitudes facilitate or inhibit success? Perhaps we might find that

we are often concentrating upon the change of dialect features which serve the attitudes of standard English users rather than those features pertinent to intelligibility and communication.

Summary

1. Research assumptions in the speech fields are rapidly moving in the direction of recognizing the importance of studying the social dialect spectrum in the United States, but the assumptions of the speech clinician or speech educator remain myopically upon standard English.

2. There is little direct or major research on social dialects found in the speech journals, but what does exist tends to be focusing upon (a) variations in linguistic task performance when materials are adapted to primary dialects, (b) field study assessments of dialect performance, (c) attitudinal correlates of dialect features, and (d) the communicative implications of social dialects. This research seems to be moving in consensus with other fields, but at the same time little of it is targeted to the needs of the speech clinician or educator.

3. Research should be in directions where behavioral studies are indicated, and where conclusions will lead to clinical and educational implications, or both.

Notes

1. For further information write to Dr. Kenneth O. Johnson, Executive Secretary, American Speech and Hearing Association, 9030 Old Georgetown Road, Washington, D.C. 20014.

2. For further information write to Dr. William Work, Executive Secretary, Speech Communication Association, Statler Hilton Hotel, New York, N.Y. 10001.

References

Baratz, J.C. Reply to Dr. Raph's article on speech and language deficits in culturally disadvantaged children. J. of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 1968, 33, 299-300.

-----. Language and cognitive assessment of Negro children: Assumptions and research needs. ASHA, 1969, 11, 87-91.

Bernstein, B. A sociolinguistic approach to socialization: With some reference to educability. In F. Williams (Ed.), Language and poverty: Perspectives on a theme. Chicago: Markham, 1970.

Buck, J.F. The effects of Negro and white dialectal variations upon attitudes of college students. Speech Monographs, 1968, 35, 181-186.

Conville, M.P. Language improvement for disadvantaged elementary school youngsters. Speech Teacher, 1969, 18, 120-123.

Deutsch, C. Auditory discrimination and learning: Social factors. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1964, 10, 277-296.

Gerber, S.E. and Hertel, C.A. Language deficiency of disadvantaged children. J. of Speech and Hearing Research, 1969, 12, 270-280.

Gregg, R., Pederson, D., and McCormack, A. A description of the interaction between black youth and white teachers in a ghetto speech class. Speech Teacher, in press.

Griffith, J. and Miner, L.E. The first Lincolnland conference on dialectology. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1970.

Harms, L.S. Listener judgments of status cues in speech. Quarterly J. of Speech, 1961, 47, 164-168.

Hawkins, R.B. A speech program in an experimental college for the disadvantaged. Speech Teacher, 1969, 18, 115-119.

Hess, R.D., Shipman, V., Bear, M., and Brophy, J. The cognitive environments of urban preschool children. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Hull, F.M. and Timmons, R.J. A national speech and hearing survey. J. of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 1966, 31, 359-361.

Hymes, D. On communicative competence. In R. Huxley and E. Ingram (Eds.), Mechanisms in language development. London: Centre for Advanced Study in the Developmental Sciences, in press.

Irwin, O.C. Infant speech: The effect of family occupational status and of age on use of sound types. J. of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 1948, 13, 224-226. (a)

-----. Infant speech: The effect of family occupational status and of age on sound frequency. J. of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 1948, 13, 320-323. (b)

Kibler, R.J. and Barker, L.L. (Eds.), Conceptual frontiers in speech-communication. New York: Speech Communication Association, 1969.

Labov, W. The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966.

-----, Cohen, P., Robins, C., and Lewis, J. A study of the non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City, Vols. I and II (Office of Education, Cooperative Research Report 3288), 1969.

McCarthy, D. The language development of the preschool child (Institute of Child Welfare Monograph Series, No. 4). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930.

Osborn, L.R. Speech communication and the American Indian high school student. Speech Teacher, 1968, 17, 38-43.

Raph, J.B. Language and speech deficits in culturally disadvantaged children, and their implication for the speech clinician. J. of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 1967, 32, 203-214.

Roever, J.E. (Ed.), Procedings of the Speech Association of America Summer Conference V: Research and Action. New York: Speech Communication Association, 1969.

Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. Pygmalion in the classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 1968.

Shriner, T.H. Sociolinguistics and language. In L.E. Travis (Ed.), Handbook of speech pathology (Rev. ed.). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, in press.

Shuy, R.W., Wolfram, W.A., and Riley, W.K. Field techniques in an urban language study. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1968.

Sinzinger, R.A. Speech in upward bound projects. Speech Teacher, in press.

Templin, M.C. Certain language skills in children: Their development and interrelationships (Institute for Child Welfare Monograph Series, No. 26). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957.

Weber, J.L. Conspicuous deficits. J. of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 1968, 33, 96.

Williams, F. The psychological correlates of speech characteristics: On sounding "disadvantaged." J. of Speech and Hearing Research, 1970, 13, 472-488.

----- and Naremore, R.C. On the functional analysis of social class differences in modes of speech. Speech Monographs, 1969, 36, 77-102. (a)

-----. Social class differences in children's syntactic performance: A quantitative analysis of field study data. J. of Speech and Hearing Research, 1969, 12, 778-793. (b)

Wood, B.S. Implications of psycholinguistics for elementary speech programs. Speech Teacher, 1968, 17, 183-192.

-----. "Everyday talk" and "school talk" of the city black child. Speech Teacher, 1969, 18, 282-296.

Work, W. (Ed.), Transcript of the Speech Association of America sponsored interdisciplinary meeting on the language problems of the disadvantaged. New York: Speech Communication Association, 1968.

Yoder, D.E. Some viewpoints of the speech, hearing and language clinician. In F. Williams (Ed.), Language and poverty: Perspectives on a theme. Chicago: Markham, 1970.

RESPONSE TO

Social Dialects and the Field of Speech

Orlando L. Taylor, Center for Applied Linguistics

In general, Williams' paper suggests that speech scholars have done little social dialect research, but that there seems to be some hope for the future. In order for me to respond to the paper in a substantive manner, I must differentiate among various social dialects. Williams' topic may be too generic, since dialects differ as a function of such factors as cultural and linguistic histories, speakers' language aspirations, the dominant culture's attitudes toward them, social and economic problems associated with the dialect, etc. Thus, broad generalizations about social dialects should be avoided. Instead, it is far more appropriate to discuss the language of specific cultural groups who speak what I will call non-prestigious dialects. Non-prestigious dialects are determined by the mainstream, dominant culture, and in the United States, I think there is little question as to which cultural group that is.

Because of the size of a specific group of non-prestigious dialect speakers and because of the relative seriousness of the problems faced by them, particularly in urban settings, I will respond to Williams' paper from the framework of the Afro-American. At the outset, I should point out that there are a number of variations, though enormous similarities, within American Black English. Again, caution should be exercised in making generalizations. Though Williams' paper is entitled "Social Dialects and the Field of Speech," it focuses on Black English and places little emphasis on other dialects. I believe that approach to be appropriate in view of the argument against discussing all dialects simultaneously.

Of the substantive points raised, I was especially pleased with the discussion on speech norms. While speech scholars have indeed recognized language differences among various socio-economic groups, they have just begun to pay serious attention to language differences related to legitimate cultural or social factors. Differences in language behavior have typically been focused upon to determine linguistic deficits of various

cultural groups. Thus, the differences have frequently provided the underpinnings for labeling certain kinds of speech behavior as pathological.

That variations exist within a given language is an obvious point. Languages represent cultures and are linked to historical facts. Different cultural and historical backgrounds should lead to language differences. However, the response to these differences is the central issue. As Williams points out, speech therapists need linguistic norms to determine communication pathologies. They also need normative data to help determine what to do about pathologies. For example, even if one can determine what a legitimate pathology is in a black child, he may be uncertain about how to teach him to speak "correctly" for his cultural group. Several people have recognized the difference between a legitimate pathology and a legitimate difference. Few, however, have developed tenable approaches for dealing with the pathologies in light of expected differences. Note that nothing is being said here about the relationship between legitimate linguistic differences and Standard Speech instruction. These points will be discussed later.

I would like to object to the concept of the "poverty child" as used by Williams in this, as well as previous, papers. The term is too general, since a number of ethnic groups and social dialects exist within major poverty groups, e.g. White Appalachians, Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, etc. Also, in the specific case of blacks, I think the notion is very likely to lead one to believe that competence for and performance in Black English is limited to poor black people. I know Williams does not believe this. I submit that a substantial core of Black English is known and used (particularly in communicating black to black) by most, and probably all, classes of blacks. The main linguistic differences among black social classes is probably seen in relative "switching" facility. In essence, there appears to be a positive correlation between middle-class (and educated) status and superior switching skill. Thus, if we want to obtain a correct view of the language of Black Americans, it would be inappropriate to talk about it exclusively in terms of the poverty individual since that would imply that the syntax, phonology, and lexicon of Black English are limited to the poor.

If one asserts that one of the major differences between language of

poor and middle-class black people is in the relative facility in linguistic switching, then the question of how much switching one can do must be raised. Ultimately, one must determine whether a person can become a "perfect switcher" from Black English to Standard English, including phonological and suprasegmental aspects. Of course, if the term Standard English is used to mean Standard English syntax only, then our choice of terms ought to reflect that fact. If the term Standard English is intended to include more than syntax, then we must deal with the question of how much switching can be acquired after the acquisition of Black English as a first language.

In all of the discussions about Black English-Standard English, little is ever mentioned about Black Standard English. Black Standard English is characterized primarily by a standard syntax, plus a few black syntactic elements. (A main example of the black syntactic element is seen in the use of the copula to indicate the continuative aspect. Continuation is an important concept to most black people and, no matter how "careful" most black speakers become, the "I be ---" form is frequently used.) The remainder of Black Standard English may include varying degrees of black vowel patterns, ethnically marked suprasegmental features, and black lexical items. This rubric would be especially useful for categorizing Black educated speech. The speaker is able to move to a more standard speech or a blacker speech depending on the situation.

Why can't Black Standard English be included in the rubric of Standard English, described, and then left alone? To me, Standard English is a concept in search of a definition. It appears to represent the language of the socially, economically, politically, and educationally prestigious groups of Americans. By definition, the term is almost synonymous with white prestige speech. It is wide enough to include the language of all prestigious white groups in the country (despite a wide range of phonological and suprasegmental differences) while excluding all black speakers except those who can "switch" into one of the acceptable patterns. Since Standard English is a relatively flexible concept, I am suggesting that it be expanded to include Black Standard English. Of course, many people will reject this suggestion. I submit that Black Standard English is spoken by a substantial portion of the black population, but is rejected by White America. This rejection is related to rejection of all black

people except those who assume white-like behavior, including language. Fanon (1965) speaks to this point from a world perspective. He asserts that blacks all over the world are judged as being human in direct relationship to their ability to speak standard versions of European languages. This thinking has led, at least indirectly, to the employability and social acceptability theses.

Most of the people who argue the desirability of teaching Standard Speech to non-standard speakers usually cite one primary reason: it makes people more employable and socially acceptable. With respect to "socially acceptable," this term must be couched in the framework of "by whom." I am not certain that black people, for example, would be more socially acceptable by a substantial portion of the black community if they spoke Standard English. Further, I am not certain that "talking proper" would make blacks more socially acceptable to the larger white society. Even if it would, it is uncertain as to whether blacks want to be socially acceptable to whites, particularly if it means communicating on white terms. With regard to the matter of employability, an individual black might be more employable because of an ability to speak Standard Speech (at least until that firm's quota for black employees is filled), but it seems extremely unlikely that equal employment would become a reality for all blacks on a nationwide basis if they suddenly become speakers of Standard English. In short, job discrimination would probably continue to be a national problem even if all black people spoke the "King's English." Indeed, many jobs should probably have no language requirement, e.g. subway motormen, electricians, steel workers, plumbers, etc., as witnessed by the number of nonstandard speaking whites who fill them.

In light of the above, it might be more appropriate for linguists, educators, speech teachers, etc., to encourage employers to accept a wider range of speech behavior instead of trying to change the speech of black people. If one accepts this notion, then one could begin to question the research orientations suggested in Williams' papers, i.e. on the speaker. Instead, focus might be more appropriately placed on the dominant culture's attitudes about language difference generally and Black English in particular.

Another topic that must be faced in the whole area of Standard Speech instruction involves aspirations of blacks for Standard Speech acquisition.

Many blacks resist the idea of Standard Speech instruction. Among other things, they cite the emergence of a black majority in most American cities. As a result, they question whether the language of a group that doesn't even constitute the majority of the urban population should become the oral standard for black dominated cities. Then some blacks also raise such points as "we've always been the ones to change so why can't other people change now?" They also cite the widespread hang-ups of many black people because of negative reactions to their first language. Finally, the point is made that the acquisition of Standard Speech implies that only white black people should be treated humanely. This last notion is being increasingly rejected by some black people in favor of a "take us or leave us as we are" attitude.

The above points should not be interpreted as being characteristic of all contemporary black thought. They should suggest, however, that there is a wide range of feeling on the topic of Standard Speech instruction. We should attempt to determine the speech aspirations of black people for themselves and their children, and not just assume that blacks want Standard Speech instruction. They might not want it as a group, or substantial numbers might reject it despite the logic or desirability of having a standard linguistic form in a multi-linguistic culture. Logical statements can be made by scholars in prestigious research centers, but these statements may not represent reality for people who have been rejected and exploited in a country for several hundred years and who have strong feelings about their speech. In short, I think we should not develop language education or research programs in black communities until full knowledge is available on the language aspirations of these communities. To do otherwise would represent a new kind of paternalism.

While the research topics mentioned by Williams are logically tenable and valid, their ultimate value can only be determined by answering <u>why</u> they are done. There are a number of reasons for doing research of the type mentioned, e.g. to contribute to the development of sociolinguistic theory; to develop arguments to convince professionals and the general public that black people have normal and legitimate language; to facilitate development of viable educational programs for black children; to help make blacks more employable and socially acceptable, etc. However, I think one very important thing should be kept in mind. Many black

people are tired of being studied and especially tired of being used for the development of what seems to them to be irrelevant theories or for providing data to prove their humanity. These persons argue (and I think quite correctly) that the kinds of realities experienced by 25 million black people daily and the kinds of punishment people receive for acting and talking black (especially in schools) are such that research can only be evaluated in terms of its potential for changing day-to-day living experiences. While I am not arguing against basic research or theory-making, I am arguing in support of basic research and theoretical assumptions which have ultimate implication for meeting some of the needs of the people in this country who have every right to expect their economic, social, educational, and psychological realities to change substantially.

From the perspective of the above arguments, I should say that I like Williams' points about research in the development of normative data on various dialects. The implications for such normative data are obvious. I would also like to see more research in basic comprehension abilities. I think one of the major problems of speech people is that they place a disproportionate amount of importance on language production. Although it is stated rather frequently that auditory comprehension precedes speech production and auditory comprehension usually exceeds speech proficiency, it seems to be quickly forgotten. As a result, little is known about black children's auditory comprehension of Standard English, although Baratz' (1968) data can be interpreted to mean that black children must have some competence in Standard English in order to reformulate Standard English sentences into Black English. Further, it is unclear as to how much auditory comprehension of a particular linguistic unit is needed before spontaneous production of it can occur.

A number of research questions are related to the subject of reading. For example, is speech production proficiency of a particular linguistic form needed before that form can be read? If not, then how much, if any, speech proficiency is needed? I am not arguing for any position on this matter because I don't believe enough data are available to support one. I'm simply saying that relationships among speech, writing, reading, and auditory comprehension need to be determined.

With respect to reading, I should point out that I believe blacks react more favorably to the teaching of Standard English as a reading

skill than as a speech skill. Perhaps this is true because reading is a less intimate issue than speech and, therefore, less tender. Perhaps it is not linked to hatred toward teachers who have constantly corrected them during the school years. Certainly, the adoption of Standard English for reading purposes does not involve rejection of a black reading system and I know of no one who wishes to translate the Library of Congress or even books on Black History, Black Art, etc., into Black English. Finally, reading ability is less public than speech facility and, therefore, less vulnerable to ridicule.

Williams' discussion of style is good. Unfortunately, style is often ignored by some researchers. It is especially important for a bi-dialectic group which lives in a socially tender setting. It involves the appropriateness of a given linguistic style in a specific social situation. Indeed, some situations trigger silence. For the black speaker, the type of language used, if any, is further influenced by the race of the audience. This point is not being raised to assert that the language of black people can only be studied by blacks, but that there is a strong probability that current racial polarization in the United States is such that white experimenters, especially in a formal setting, are likely to trigger a particular kind of speech. Thus, if serious research is to be done, situations, as well as experimenters, must be controlled to the extent that a broad range of speech can be elicited.

With respect to the American Speech and Hearing Association and the Speech Communication Association, it is good to see increased research on social dialects. It is uncertain, however, whether the interest emerging from these organizations reflects self-engineered awareness as much as increased articulateness from black and enlightened white members of these organizations. Unfortunately, some of the interest is negatively motivated, i.e. it is viewed as a way to discourage disruption. Other interest is motivated by academic, intellectual, and "image" concerns. The feelings of the mainstream membership is most unclear.

In any case, one should probably be conservative in his expectations from the field of speech insofar as social dialects are concerned. Speech people have too little knowledge of black culture and language, linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropology, etc., to do the kind of work needed. In this context, it may be inappropriate to expect

the National Speech and Hearing Survey to produce relevant findings in this whole area. Perhaps the speech profession ought to focus more of its present efforts on training the proper personnel to do sociolinguistic research.

With regard to linguists doing the type of research needed, it should be said that they do not have ideal training either. While they have the advantage of knowing much more about language than do speech professionals, they typically have deficits in some of the other areas mentioned. Perhaps we need to begin to develop specific training programs which have all the interdisciplinary inputs necessary for valid and relevant work in dialects.

DEVELOPMENTAL STUDIES OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Harry Osser, University of California at Berkeley

Research Assumptions

Psychologists have begun to reexamine their beliefs about the language skills of lower-class children, particularly those who speak a nonstandard dialect. One reason for this is that scholars have become aware of the various problems involved in extracting valid information from comparative studies of the languages of children from different subcultural backgrounds. We are nowadays less eager to interpret the consistent discovery in such studies of differences favoring the middle-class group as evidence of deficiencies of the lower-class group. We are beginning to be concerned with the meaning of these differences.

What do these differences represent? One possibility is that they simply reflect bias in the experimental procedures which disfavors the lower-class group. (The term "lower-class group" will be used to include nonstandard speakers from now on.) There are three possible sources of procedural bias: (a) in the collection of language data, (b) in the analysis of language data, and (c) in the interpretation of language data.

Bias in the collection of language data can occur if speech samples are obtained in situations that are alien to one of the experimental groups. A topic of conversation may elicit a flood of speech from the members of one subcultural group and virtual silence from the children who make up the other subcultural group. If this occurs in many communicative contexts, then the latter group's linguistic competence, i.e. knowledge of the formal properties of their language, will be underestimated. Similarly, unless a subcultural group is placed in familiar communication situations so that it can demonstrate how and under what conditions language functions for them, then their communicative competence will most certainly be underestimated.

For example, if speech samples obtained from both Negro and white groups are searched for the presence of standard linguistic forms only, bias can occur in the analysis of language data. Similarly, bias can exist at the level of interpretation of the data, as Baratz (1969) has

pointed out. She argues that data obtained by testing Negro children on Standard English material tell us about their ability in Standard English but do not tell us about their general language ability.

The relatively poor performance of lower-class children on experimental language tasks is, at least in part, a reflection of procedural bias. However, in the analysis of such bias we have become aware that there may be some relationships between specific speech functions and social class membership. These relationships have educational implications. For example, there may be differences, and even interference, between the lower-class child's use of speech outside of the classroom and the speech function requirements of the school (Hymes, in press).

In order to aid children to acquire more effective communication skills, we will be obliged to learn how speech functions for them, so that if necessary we may add other functions to their repertoires. A number of experiments on communication in children will now be examined; they are concerned with the analysis of the abilities necessary for successful communication. Collectively, these experiments provide an initial model for the study of some aspects of children's communicative competence.

Research Review

1. Developmental Studies of Communicative Competence. Piaget and Inhelder (1956) studied the development of one kind of role playing in children from 4 to 11 years of age. The children faced a scale model of three mountains and were tested on their ability to represent the appearance of the mountains from positions other than their own. In one test, the child was asked to select from a series of photographs, the one which depicted what the mountains looked like to a doll sitting on the opposite side of the mountains from the child. The youngest children persistently chose their own viewpoint; however, at the middle of the age range tested, the children were able to represent to themselves the other's perspective. In an earlier study, Piaget (1926) had investigated the verbal communication skills of children from 6 to 8 years old. His procedure was to tell a story to a child who then told it to another child who in turn told it to the experimenter. Piaget found that the younger children used speech egocentrically, i.e. they appeared to talk to themselves rather than taking the listener into consideration. By 7 to 8 years of age, genuine socially communicative speech occurred.

These two studies provided both a theoretical and experimental point of departure for a program of research on the development of role taking and communication behavior carried out by Flavell, Botkin, Fry, Wright, and Jarvis (1968). In their elaboration of Piagetian theory, they propose that communication is achieved through the point operation of at least two social-cognitive activities. These are: (a) role taking, where the speaker attempts to deduce the listener's role characteristics and (b) verbal communication, where the speaker sends a message that is adapted to the listener's role attributes. Flavell et al., interpret effective communication as involving an editing process in which the speaker codes a message for himself and then recodes it for the listener. This interpretation is derived directly from Vygotsky's (1962) view of the child's development from private to social speech usage.

Flavell et al., argue that the speaker's discrimination of the role-attributes of the listener is not a sufficient condition for the construction of an effective message; other skills are involved. If a speaker's cognitive ability is inadequate, he cannot code a message for himself; further, an effective verbal message presupposes a set of well-developed verbal skills. Finally, the listener might lack the necessary decoding skills to make the message successful. To summarize this theory, if the speaker fails to analyze the role characteristics of the listener, then the latter becomes a relatively unimportant cognitive object for the speaker and the message is no more than an audible self-coding. If, on the other hand, the speaker does attend to the individual characteristics of the listener, then these characteristics will function continuously to monitor the content of the message.

Flavell et al., carried out a number of studies to test this theory. They designed a series of communication tasks which evaluate the child's ability to "take on" the role attributes of others for the purpose of producing an effective verbal message. Several of these tasks will now be presented.

Task 1A appears to tap the explanatory speech function. Children from grades 2-11 were instructed to communicate information about the rules and materials of a specially devised game to (a) a blindfolded experimenter who had to rely solely on verbal information and (b) a sighted experimenter who was able to supplement the child's verbal

description by looking at the game materials as the child was speaking. The experimental hypothesis was that the older children would be more sensitive to the different input needs of the two experimenters, giving the "blind" experimenter more verbal information. The results indicated support for the hypothesis that the older the child, the more likely was he to alter his communicative strategy when he talked to the "blind" experimenter and in doing so provide more information to him than to the "seeing" experimenter.

Task 2A involves the child's retelling a story (so evidently assesses narrative ability) -- The Fox and the Grapes -- to (a) a life-sized photograph of a man and (b) a life-sized photograph of a 4-year-old. The children were from grades 3, 7, and 11. The hypothesis was that the younger speakers would be less likely to alter the story for the 4-year-old "listener" than would the older children. The children's verbalizations were scored for the number of simplifying recodings (i.e. substitutions, additions, and deletions) that would make the story more comprehensible for the young "listener." The results supported the hypothesis; there was a significant increase in recoding activity between grades 3 and 7. Only a quarter of the third graders altered the story even minimally for the young listener, whereas almost all of the older children did. Flavell et al., suggest that the third graders typically functioned as if the storytelling situation was dyadic rather than triadic, i.e. as if they were concerned with the story alone, rather than with the story and the audience.

Flavell et al., carried out a small number of training experiments to attempt some modification of communicative behavior. In one study, Jarvis examined the child's ability to profit from immediate feedback on the effectiveness of his message. The children were from grades 2, 6, and 9. Each child was asked to describe a pictorial design composed of four geometric figures so that a listener sitting on the other side of a screen could draw it. The experimenter commented on the supposedly poor quality of the drawing and asked the speaker to repeat the description so that the listener could make an exact copy of the design. The hypothesis was that the older children would improve their message quality more than the younger children. The scoring system used was based on the information categories of color, size, shape, and position. The mean scores

for each message showed the expected increases as a function of age, particularly between grades 2 and 6. The second graders showed only a small amount of improvement between their pre- and post-feedback scores.

An analysis of the specific information communicated by each group in the post-feedback condition indicated that the two older groups had improved their scores in all categories, whereas the youngest group showed only small gains in their shape and color scores and even smaller gains in the size and position categories. Flavell et al., reject the possibility that the youngest children's failures were attributable to linguistic problems, arguing that the necessary vocabulary was available to them. It appears that the youngest children's communicative inadequacy was a function of two interrelated factors: (a) their inability to use their vocabulary on a particular task and (b) their inability to analyze the listener's role characteristics.

2. Social Class Factors in the Development of Communicative Competence. Although Flavell et al., did not concern themselves with the role of social class factors in the development of verbal communication skills, their studies do intersect with recent developments in sociolinguistic theory and research. For example, Bernstein (in press) has discussed the topic of differences in communication styles within family types. He contrasts two kinds of families: (a) positional and (b) person-oriented. These are differentiated with respect to their modes of social control. When appeals are made to the child in a positional family, they refer to his formal status ("Boys don't cry."). Appeals made to the child in a person-oriented family focus upon his individual characteristics ("I know you won't cry because you know it will upset grandma."). The training in interpersonal behavior is obviously quite different in these two family types.

Taking the information on the components of verbal communication provided by Flavell et al., together with Bernstein's description of the differences in child-rearing practices of the positional and the person-oriented family types, it becomes possible to hypothesize that children raised in person-oriented homes will perform better on verbal communication tasks than those raised in positional homes. The assumption here is that role-attribute analysis is an important aspect of verbal communication and that person-oriented families train children to respond to the intent of

the speaker/listener by analyzing his unique features, whereas positional families train their children to respond to the fixed-status features of the speaker/listener, which requires a confined rather than a detailed role attribute analysis. If person-oriented families are roughly equated to middle-class families and positional to lower-class, then there is some evidence to support the hypothesis.

Williams and Naremore (1969) compared language samples obtained from lower-and middle-class children in grades 5 and 6. One of their findings was that the lower-class child had a tendency to communicate from his own perspective by talking in the first person, thus using a self-focused mode of discourse. The middle-class child, by contrast, tended to employ a variety of perspectives in his remarks. The interrelations between linguistic structure and function is made salient by Williams and Naremore's observation that the middle-class child used the third person more frequently than the lower-class child, which increased his options in constructing subject noun phrases, so that he could incorporate many communication perspectives in one message.

In some related research, Hawkins (1969) examined samples of speech from 5-year-old middle- and lower-class children. He found that the middle-class children tended to use the noun and its associated forms, whereas the lower-class children made much greater use of the pronoun. The child who elects to use nouns has access to great flexibility in modification. He can produce, for example, "these two very long railroad trains," whereas modification is very limited for pronouns. This result suggests that middle-class children open up possibilities of linguistic expansion by using nouns; whereas for those lower-class children who use pronouns, opportunities are very much more restricted. Hawkins also discovered that lower-class children, when describing a picture, tended to use exophoric pronouns, i.e. those that refer outward to the situational context. A child describing a picture might say, "They're playing and he kicks it." Here is a case where the speaker seems to assume that the listener can see the picture. It is certain that the listener cannot understand what is being referred to without seeing the picture. The speaker's language is not person-oriented. The middle-class child, however, tends to use anaphoric pronouns, i.e. those that refer to previously mentioned nouns. For example, "The boy kicked the ball and it broke the window." There is no strain on the listener here.

In another experiment, Osser and Harvey (in preparation) have analyzed samples of speech obtained from lower- and middle-class pre-schoolers. The speech was elicited by asking the child: (a) to describe some pictures, (b) to talk about events that occur during a typical day, and (c) to explain the rules of a few common children's games. One focus of the study is on various categories of hesitation phenomena. One such category seems to be particularly interesting, namely, "self-corrections." Some examples of self-corrections are: (a) She has/He has...; (b) He's wearing a hat/I mean...; (c) It's a dog/No it's a horse. The middle-class children emitted a larger number of these self-corrections than did the lower-class children.

There are many types of self-correction which may function quite differently from each other. For example, They was/They were, implies knowledge of a standard grammatical rule, whereas the three examples offered above may reflect knowledge of particular sociolinguistic rules ("Make your verbal message as explicit as possible."). It would be important to know the nature of the communicative role of self-corrections. Do they refer to the child setting certain minimal requirements for self-coding? Or is he setting requirements for his verbal coding to a listener? The child, of course, may be doing both.

Another part of the analysis suggests that social class related differences in self-correction may be contingent upon differences in self-coding. Analysis of the children's responses to the "games" questions (e.g. "Tell me how you play Hide and Seek?), in terms of the effectiveness of the communication, indicated that a listener could usually play a particular game from information provided by a middle-class child. The lower-class child's explanations of the rules were usually verbally inadequate.

There are a number of possible interpretations of this finding, one being that the lower-class children did not linguistically self-code the game rules, so could not explicate them verbally for a listener. If this is a valid interpretation, then the fact that these children could play the games has to be explained. One possibility is that they acquired the game-skills simply by watching how a particular game is played.

3. An Interpretation of Social Class Differences in Communicative Competence. The experiments of Hawkins, Williams and Naremore, and Osser and Harvey provide some evidence of the existence of social class related

differences in communicative competence. However, we have to be very wary of developing a mythology about differences in communicative competence considering the very limited empirical data available. It may be, as Hymes (mss.) suggests, that lower-class children may surpass middle-class children in some aspects of communicative competence not yet observed or measured. However, some differences favoring middle-class children have been found, and their meaning has to be explored. A good beginning point is to examine what a child has to learn in order to develop communicative competence. He must acquire several rule-systems, including: (a) the formal linguistic rules of his dialect; (b) the sociolinguistic rules of his cultural group; and (c) social-cognitive rules, such as what kind of analysis of the listener's characteristics should be undertaken. These latter rules are not usually considered in discussions of the nature of communicative competence, but the research of Piaget, Piaget and Inhelder, and Flavell et al., offers convincing evidence that they should be included.

Differences in communicative competence across social class groups probably reflect differences in their rule-systems. For example, different interpretive rules may be brought to bear on the "same" communicative situation so that differences may be observed in the performance of lower- and middle-class groups even though, from their separate viewpoints, both have met the specific communicative demands of the situation. The results of the experiments of Hawkins, Williams and Naremore, and Osser and Harvey indicate that lower-class children are less "explicit" in their verbal communication than middle-class children. We do not know whether lower-class children characteristically employ an "implicit" style of speech, as the range of situations in which their speech has been sampled is very narrow. It is clear enough, however, that <u>any</u> child may be handicapped if he uses an implicit style in a classroom and in other social situations.

It may be the case that we will want to broaden the communicative competence of lower-class children if research continues to turn up evidence that they lack certain communicative skills that are prerequisite for academic success. We might aim at adding some sociolinguistic rules and some social-cognitive rules to the child's repertoire, but a major problem might derive from the interference between the new rules and the

child's well-established communicative rule-systems (see Hymes, mss. for a detailed discussion of this problem).

Suggestions for Research

It would be educationally profitable to undertake further research on the various rule-systems that support communicative competence in children, especially children from subcultural groups which contribute disproportionately to the total number of academic failures, e.g. Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and poor whites, etc. We need to find out under what conditions children use language and for what purposes. Similarly, we need information on the many roles of language in the classroom. A beginning has been made in classroom verbal interaction analysis by Bellack et al. (1966). They have examined the conversations of teachers and students (10th-12th graders) during the teaching of a social studies unit. Bellack et al., viewed the conversations as verbal games with particular rules and structure. They analyzed the speech samples and divided them into four major categories of verbal interaction:

1. Structuring: Teacher's initial discussion of topic.
2. Soliciting: Eliciting speech by questions, requests, etc.
3. Responding: Reciprocal verbal moves to soliciting.
4. Reacting: Functions to modify by clarifying, synthesizing, or expanding.

Within each of these categories different types of meaning are communicated:

1. Substantive meaning: Subject matter of class-specific concepts and generalizations.
2. Substantive-logical meaning: Refers to cognitive processes involved in dealing with the subject matter, such as defining, interpreting, explaining, fact stating, opining, and justifying.
3. Instructional meanings: Routine classroom procedures.
4. Instructional logical meaning: Distinctly didactic verbal processes such as those involved in rating, explaining procedures, and giving directions.

Bellack et al., provide a good start to the task of classroom verbal analysis (see also, Amidon & Hunter, 1966). However, it will be necessary to go far beyond what they have accomplished in order to develop effective intervention procedures. We need to know, for example, how language functions for children of different ages and from different subcultural backgrounds in various educational contexts, e.g. learning arithmetic,

learning to read, learning elementary science, etc. With such information, and other information on the children's use of language outside of school (i.e. knowledge of the rules that underlie their communicative competence), we could begin to delineate areas of interference and if necessary, develop procedures for enlarging children's communicative competence.

References

Amidon, E. and Hunter, E. Improving teaching: The analysis of classroom verbal interaction. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966.

Baratz, J.C. A bi-dialectal task for determining language proficiency in economically disadvantaged Negro children. Child Development, 1969, 40, 889-901.

Bellack, A.A., Dliebard, H.M., Hyman, R.T., Smith, F.L., Jr. The language of the classroom. New York: Teacher's College Press, 1966.

Bernstein, B. A sociolinguistic approach to socialization: With some reference to educability. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.) Directions in Sociolinguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston (in press).

Flavell, J.H. et al. The development of role-taking and communication skills in children. New York: Wiley, 1968.

Hawkins, P.R. Social class, the nominal group and reference. Language and Speech, 1969, 12, 125-135.

Hymes, D. "On communicative competence" (mss.).

Osser, H. and Harvey, K. Organizational properties of children's speech (in preparation).

Piaget, J. The language and thought of the child. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1926.

----- and Inhelder, B. The child's conception of space. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956.

Vygotsky, L.S. Thought and language. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1962.

Williams, F. and Naremore, R.C. On the functional analysis of social class differences in modes of speech. Speech Monographs, 1969, 36, 77-102.

RESPONSE TO

Developmental Studies of Communicative Competence

Vera John, Yeshiva University

I would like to address myself to the question of the relevance of psychological approaches to the study of dialect. I have had a long-standing interest in examining the functions of speech, and Osser's paper on communication studies is of great interest to me. But, I have to raise a more basic question. Are psychologists equipped to deal with the study of dialects? I doubt it.

The framework of experimental psychology prepares us to take an extremely narrow point of view. If we take seriously the position that we are dealing, in the study of dialect, with culturally patterned differences, not deficiencies, then the experimental framework of pre- and post-testing, and experimental and control groups (these are our methodological bags of tricks) becomes a handicap. This is a powerful framework when the experimental variables are pure. But when variables have not been isolated, this kind of a framework breeds premature and often faulty work.

Psychologists who have done some of the early research on subcultural differences in patterns of language tended to be committed and responsible human beings. They were dismayed by the lack of interest on the part of most of their colleagues in research projects of social relevance. However, this concern for the educational problems of the ghetto child did not protect us from theoretical and methodological pitfalls.

When one looks at culturally patterned differences, one has to start with description. This intricate, slow and painful process, requiring field research, is recommended by Osser. But in so much of the extant psychological research, differences have been hypothesized without this necessary and previous stage of careful, ethnological and linguistic description. And therefore, a situation has been created where speech functions have been looked at, and spoken of, as definite, crystalized traits of children, instead of as widely varying capabilities and skills which are displayed in varying forms and functions in discrete settings.

This stems from a deep bias on the part of psychologists toward a methodology in which a comparative and correlational approach is always preferred to a descriptive one. I submit that this has to stop. We need more careful, ethnological research of the sort presented by Claudia Mitchell Kernan (see pp. 65-69).

Psychologists can have an impact upon the life and educational development of speakers of dialect, but in a different way than has been thought of to date. Comparative research of the language proficiency and language functions of children drawn from diverse groups is a dead-end for psychologists, particularly those working within a traditional expermental framework and in isolation from the insights of native speakers of social dialects, linguists and anthropologists. In a brilliant and accusing article ("The Logic of Non-Standard English"), William Labov has pointed out the destructive role played by the educational psychologist in contemporary American society. On the other hand, there are two areas in which psychologists may make useful contributions to speakers of dialect. These are: human learning and socialization.

Some questions raised in recent days pertain to the former of these fields. The phenomenon of linguistic interference is one example. What are interference effects when two language forms are very similar and there are no clear markers to help the child decide which of the forms is applicable? The laboratory methods of studying human learning, together with sociolinguistic information, may help to find an answer to such a question.

I would hate to repudiate everything about our early research in the area of sub-cultural differences and language proficiency. Personally, I am still fascinated with questions related to language and thought, and language and learning. However, the question of how language is used by the child-speaker of dialect, who inevitably is also a member of a poverty group in this society, may not be answerable by researchers with their current biases and ignorance of the community in which that child was raised. We have been told by many Black social scientists that they are tired of being studied. Indians, too, are now echoing that same plea. The value of research which depends upon the full and equal participation of, and which incorporates the culturally specific insights of the Indian, Black or other Third-World social scientist is illustrated by the work of

Dumont. He described the role of silence in some Sioux and Cherokee classrooms. The intricate non-verbal struggle taking place between teacher and students in these classrooms cannot be effectively quantified, or even described, without an understanding of how these children are opposing their present education. To understand what the mechanisms are in this struggle, we must first recognize that these children have been defeated in schools as young learners. They have few alternatives. They can take over the classrooms, in their terms; and their terms are to frustrate the teacher in any further attempt to impose upon their psyches. And they do so in a characteristically silent manner. The manner in which this classroom struggle is conducted is very complex to the observer unless he is familiar with some of the cultural forms of interaction of the Sioux and the Cherokee. At the beginning, even to an Indian anthropologist making casual observations, it appears as if nothing is happening. After a while, this picture changes.

We have to be willing to admit that psychologists have charged into areas without adequate interdisciplinary efforts that might have helped to achieve an insight into what we wanted to study. (I feel that national testing efforts fall into this category of mistaken research.) Therefore, we should now slow down, stop and then, redirect our efforts. Specifically, we ought to direct some efforts into broader questions of human learning that are relevant to the education of all children.

What do I mean by this? Science requires extensive research with many false starts. Laymen and scientists accept that vision of science in a field such as cancer research. But, in a socially explosive situation, the mistakes of an early stage of research are usually contained in the very problem that gave rise to the research. There is an additional price paid by mistaken leads and faulty approaches in social situations: the problem being studied is usually aggravated by the research mistakes.

Hess has asked us to separate scientific considerations from considerations of value (pp. 82-85). I am not sure that this is possible. Often, the very way in which we ask questions is based upon untested assumptions; and once the question has been asked, and the research completed, we have added one more burden to the life of the dialect speaker. This is exactly what some of our Black colleagues are telling us throughout the country at professional meetings. "You act like you did not know

why you are asking certain questions; but there are reasons why you ask them, and reasons for the way you have asked them. Perhaps, that is what you should think of first, before you do any more research."

One of the things we might do, if we are interested in research with social implications, is to look at the middle-class. If we are going to ask rather complex questions, such as, what is the role of socialization in language and cognitive development (questions Bernstein has asked, and others have investigated) we ought to start where we do have some intuitive knowledge. Because psychology has addressed itself for the last 40 years primarily to the learning processes of the lower mammal, we have relatively little theory or facts to offer in the complex areas we have talked about. Thus, we ought to do more fundamental research on the relationship between language and intellectual endeavor in social groups where we have both familiarity and some intuitive knowledge.

The broad theoretical questions of language and its uses are still with us. But I wish that we would withdraw for the time being from comparative research, for we have yet to come up with basic answers for social settings about which we do have some knowledge and familiarity.

SOCIAL DIALECTS IN DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS[1]

Susan M. Ervin-Tripp, University of California at Berkeley

Research Assumptions

Developmental sociolinguistics is at this stage not a department, not a set of journals, not a bounded group of people, but rather an orientation with certain assumptions. One category of work which has received the label of developmental sociolinguistics would be better called comparative studies of language development. These are called "socio-" only because measures of language competence are employed with children who differ socially, but it is often the case that such studies differ markedly in pre-suppositions from studies of the development of sociolinguistic (or communicative)[2] competence. This second type need not be comparative at all. Its primary focus is the systematic relationship of features of the children's language and the social milieu of speech, hearing, and talk about speech. Some of the major assumptions of this field have been developed in the work of Hymes and Gumperz, defining a field of ethnography of communication.

Comparative studies. The first category of work, comparative studies, has attracted attention because American schools so often test and compare children's performances. But there has been great difficulty in finding ways of testing children's knowledge of language without using sociolinguistically biased approaches. Most tests use communicative settings which are middle-class, middle-class interviewers, middle-class kinds of tasks, middle-class language, and middle-class scoring criteria. It is very easy to find bleak examples of ignorance of work on social dialects and on social variation in the use of language, but hard to find alternative approaches for those who think they have to test.

One approach to the linguistic issue is to test development of features common to different languages. Let us suppose, for example, that we are concerned with the concept of location or of possession. Both of these structures, and at least eight others, can be identified

in grammatical contrasts or classes in the earliest sentences of children in a variety of languages ranging from Samoan (Kernan, 1969) to Luo in Kenya (Blount, 1969). But if we are interested in the possessive, what approaches can we take?

a) The concept of possession is probably already present well within the first 18 months, but testing would require some non-verbal methods appropriate to the social group.

b) We might like to know how early these children signal possession verbally by some distinct feature, any feature. Thus we might ask how early possession is a linguistically distinct feature.

c) We might ask how early a child comprehends specific linguistic contrasts as signalling possession. The Torrey study (1969) cited below asks this question, but in a non-comparative framework.

d) We might ask how early the child signals possession with the adult linguistic contrast of his home milieu. If his parents and siblings speak a non-standard dialect of English, this might mean using order alone, or order and prosodic features, but not a suffix.

e) We might ask how early a child can systematically signal possession with a linguistic feature of some dialect or language not used regularly in his home, but sometimes heard. For English speakers in a bilingual community it might be the Spanish possessive. For lower-class blacks it might be a possessive suffix. For standard English speakers it might be the non-standard variants.

An appropriate example is the work of Osser, Wang and Zaid (1969). This was a study of rates of development in core grammatical transformations common to all dialects of English, such as relativization and passivization. The study compared middle-class whites and lower-class blacks.

Many workers in child language question the likelihood of large differences in the average age of achievement of fundamental milestones (e.g. understanding verb-object, understanding relative clauses) or in ranges of variation in different social groups. There are two reasons for their doubt. One is the evidence of a considerable biological substrate for the maturation of language-learning abilities universal to humans (Lenneberg, 1967), and the other the evidence that the amount of direct reinforcement of language training seems to have little bearing

at least on grammatical development (Brown, Cazden and Bellugi, 1969; Cazden, 1970). Short of biological abnormalities[3] or deviant social conditions in a particular family that are in that society pathological, this theory would lead one to suspect underlying similarity of competence. Thus those claiming differences must be particularly careful to use tests appropriate to the groups tested. There are many questions of interest in comparative studies outside of the hypothesis of difference, of course, such as universals of order and contingency for different features.

Osser, Wang and Zaid developed some excellent methods for testing grammatical imitative skill and comprehension, aimed at specific grammatical features. But they made one serious mistake. The input was standard English, so they used a type d test for the middle-class children and a type e test for the lower-class children, and assumed they could make them comparable by some scoring rules. Differences in familiarity with the testing dialect must have thoroughly confounded developmental results.

One solution to this problem has been proposed by Joan Baratz (1969). She constructed a set of idealized sentences "translated" into non-standard black English, and recorded by a middle-class white using a "speech guise." Probably nobody speaks 100 percent non-standard forms, so the input language was to some extent artificial, but most of the children believed the speaker was black. The results show that whatever the artificiality of these materials, it was easier for black urban children to imitate them and harder for white suburban children in relatively segregated areas to imitate them than standard English. Her study was not aimed at all at studying development of specific grammatical features, but at a gross test of grammatical competence, and at showing that the surface structure of the test is highly relevant if one wants to make such comparisons. She is clearly right.

The Baratz test included an approximation of type d materials for both groups and of type e materials for both groups, and she showed that for both it was easier to imitate the type d materials. One could argue that until one is able to construct materials in which the minority group does better (like the non-standard section of the Baratz test) one does not understand the unique features of the skills children acquire in those groups. Out of an appropriate balance of items equally familiar to both

groups one might then conceivably construct a more culture-fair test than we now have, or in this case a language-fair test.

But sociolinguistic work has posed a much more difficult challenge to those who wish to make comparisons, more difficult than equating familiarity with dialect features. Each community, even sub-groups within communities like teen-age gangs, may develop its own pattern of language use, its own set of speech events, its own valuing of skill. To take a simple example, suppose one wants to compare fluency or active vocabulary size in two groups. Presumably one can only assess fluency by discovering the social situation in which the person talks the most. Labov (1968) has given a vivid example of a black child who was laconic with even an older black from the same community and only became talkative when arguing with a friend. Assessment of vocabulary size in a small sample of speech would require finding the speech events within the culture of the children which maximally demand vocabulary diversity. An alternative might be to train the child to a new task which interested him, and in effect "re-socialize" him, but then there would have to be some independent way of assessing success in this task. Jensen's comment (1969) that one might raise the IQ of a lower-class black child ten points by spending many hours with him suggests that socialization to the task may be involved, in a variety of ways which could be investigated.

An example of such an approach occurred to me while reading Labov's engrossing account of the rule structure for sounding in Harlem teenagers (1968). Sounding requires sensitivity to syntactic patterns since success in the role of second party requires syntactic expansion, and in the role of third party some elements may remain constant but a semantic shift such as tense or an anomalous lexical change can produce a successful effect. There is constant evaluation and a high sense of skill. If one believes that verbal skills are transferable, then it should be possible to devise tests which tap the fundamental syntactic skills and the kind of restricted associations which result in highly valued anomaly. The test can be conveniently validated against the group's assessment of the rank of the boys on sounding.

The argument here is that the correction for our linguistic and social myopia in constructing measures of competence may be to draw on the speech events and linguistic structures of minority speakers. One

problem, of course, is the fact that minority group members themselves may regard their informal style as inappropriate to formal settings and tasks, which therefore makes it harder to elicit "translations" or information about speech skills, except by ethnographic work. In such cases it would be much easier to go the other way, i.e. to get materials (such as narratives, jokes, picture description) in the most informal milieu first. In test construction, the appropriate direction would be to start by searching for speech events, testing situations, and linguistic patterns familiar to the children in the non-standard English (or Spanish) speaking group. Full development and independent validation of the testing materials should take place within this group. It would be far easier to translate into middle-class and standard English materials than to go the other direction.

Our current tests are second dialect tests for lower-class and especially black children.[4] The accusations of bias that are being made are in many cases well-founded. Whenever a test is supposed to assess fundamental linguistic and intellectual competence, it must be oriented directly to the speech community to be tested. Unless the speech skills and social performances required by the test are equally familiar to all tested groups, the test is a biased estimate of underlying competence.

Developmental studies. The development of tests for comparative work seems to be an example of applied developmental sociolinguistics. We have seen that adequate tests would have to draw on ethnographic developmental work. In basic research in developmental sociolinguistics, the principal assumption is that the way in which people talk directly reflects both the regular patterns of their social networks and the immediate circumstances of speech. The first part is obvious; a child's interaction network is bound to influence his values about language and the repertoire he commands. The more we study speech in natural settings, the more we find systematic variation within every speaker reflecting who he is addressing, where he is, what the social event may be, the topic of discussion, and the social relations he communicates by speaking.[5] The regularities in these features of speech make them as amenable to analysis as the abstracted rules called grammars. Competence in speaking includes the ability to use appropriate speech for the circumstance and, when devi-

ating from what is normal, to convey what is intended. It would be an incompetent speaker who used baby talk to everyone, or randomly interspersed sentences in baby talk or in a second language regardless of circumstance. It would be equally incompetent to use formal style in all situations and to all addressees, in a society allowing for a broader range of variation.

With respect specifically to social dialects we assume that all varieties of English are alike in many underlying features. The child who lives in a community with several social dialects of English is in a very different situation from that of an immigrant. Even though he may not understand all details of standard English, those he fails to understand or use may be relatively superficial, from a linguistic if not a social standpoint. In casual discourse, intelligibility of standard English to a non-standard speaker is not likely to be the major problem, as it can be for a speaker of another language. Since gross unintelligibility is not present, motives for learning may be different.

As a result of the mass media and education, as well as pressures towards "proper" speech in many homes, we assume children who use many non-standard features may often understand more of the surface features of standard English than they reveal in their speech. In this sense a kind of bilingualism may exist at the comprehension level, as it does with those Spanish or Navaho speakers who can understand more than they produce.

Finally, we assume that social groups vary in the uses to which they most often put speech and in the value they attach to different uses, so that the range of uses of speech by a child needs to be explored. On the other hand, certain values can be found universally in every social group. We ought to discover which speech events, for example, are valued aesthetically. We assume aesthetic values are present in every society; we need to learn whether they are focused on speech, and if so, on which kinds of speech.

Research Review

Systematic correlates of variations in dialect features. In speakers with a wide repertoire of language or dialect variation, the internal

linguistic structure of that variation, and its co-occurrence with semantic and social features can be examined. Sam Henrie (1969) found that deletion of verb affixes by five-year-old black children was related to semantic features of the utterance, and was not a random feature. It has been known for some time (Wolfram, 1969) that the form be as in "He be outa school" is semantically contrasted with is, and carries meaning that standard English cannot easily translate. Henrie found that already at five, children selected be most often for habitual actions ("they be sleeping") or distributed non-temporal states ("they be blue") and least often for momentary acts.

We have learned that the frequency of standard features may increase when (a) the child is role-playing doctor or teacher (Kernan, 1969), (b) the child is in the schoolroom or being interviewed by an authority figure (Houston, 1969), (c) the child is interviewed alone rather than in a group (Labov, 1963), (d) the interviewer uses only standard English rather than variable speech (Williams and Naremore, 1969). Labov noted, for example, that in formal style black children used the plural suffix more, though the redundant third person verb marker remained infrequent. Since none of these studies except Labov's has focused on fine detail, we might be willing to pool all the findings as indicating a kind of formal-informal dimension. Fischer (1958), for example, noted that New England children increased their use of "-n" suffixes over "-ing" suffixes in the course of an interview, presumably relaxing into more casual style. Fischer noted, as others have, that girls in his group used the more formal variant more; Kernan's examples of formal features in role-playing were usually of girls.

This kind of variation corresponds to what Blom and Gumperz call situational switching and Houston (1969) calls "register", where the primary determinants appear to be setting, situation, and addressee or topic. Overlaid on these features, which in bilinguals often generate sharp switching of languages, are feature variations which may or may not form coherent styles. These may be viewed as reflections of changes of function or intent within the particular interaction, and the variations between dialect features can be considered linguistic devices for realizing intent. In a given conversation, different foci or speech episodes and different speech acts or structural units within the conversation often may be

demarcated by changes in the frequency of socially significant speech variables. Blom and Gumperz (in press) describe these phenomena with respect to dialect variation between a village dialect in Norway and standard Norwegian. The phenomena are analogous to American dialect feature variation.[6]

An example of a simple analysis of classroom interaction with these concepts may illustrate what I have in mind. Mary Rainey (1969) studied a teacher in a black Headstart class. She selected the alternation between "-ing" and "-in" suffixes for observation, since they are related both to formality (Fischer, 1958; Labov, 1966) and to dialect. The teacher regularly used "-ing" in formal teaching and story reading, but in these same situations she used "-in" when she was trying to get attention or closeness. Rainey calls "-ing" the unmarked or usual form for formal teaching. On the other hand, the unmarked form for informal or casual interaction was "-in", and "-ing" was used for marked emphasis in these situations. ("Where are you going, Ezekiel Cato Jones?")

The notion that formality lies on a simple dimension seems well-founded empirically in Labov's studies. With addressee and setting constant, he was able to accomplish style changes in "-ing" and in phonological alternatives by topical changes (e.g. to a more emotional topic) or by task changes (to reciting a childhood rhyme, to reading). He has commented also that when auditory feedback is reduced by broad-spectrum noise, the most informal style results (Labov, 1970, in press). Labov found in his lower-east-side study that a full range of style variation was not adult-like until around 14 or 15, but there is evidence certainly that some variation exists before that time. Typically the children use the more informal forms more often than adults (Wolfram; Shuy, et al; Labov, 1966) as one would expect from their exposure to informal home situations.

Labov's view of monitoring is unidimensional; in contrast, Claudia Kernan has used this term in speaking of "monitoring black" and "monitoring white." These terms refer to speech which veers away from the normal expected, or unmarked vernacular. This monitoring is analogous to Blom and Gumperz' metaphorical switching. What are the social factors that go along with monitoring black? They are exemplified by parodies of the speech of quoted persons to indicate their social characteristics,[7] and,

on other occasions, speakers' allusions to shared ethnic identity. (Dick Gregory is skilled in such monitoring.) Labov has commented that if a speaker masters a fully consistent standard register, he may be unable to switch to the vernacular except through the use of markers whose frequency is not like that in an unmarked vernacular. He loses his fine sense of context-defined inherent variation. In some of the black monitoring observed by Kernan, forms were used that were caricatures and do not occur in any vernacular style.

This notion of marking has been formally developed by Geohegan (1969). He has found, in working on alternations in address forms, that one can identify a regular, expected, reportable, unmarked form which is predictable from social features such as setting, age, rank, sex, and so on. Deviations from the unmarked alternatives carry social information such as positive and negative affect, deference, and anger.

It should be clear from this discussion of registers, styles, marking, and monitoring that these concepts are still being developed and changed and that attention to them will be fundamental in any research on children's understanding of the social aspects of language. Since work has been done largely with adults, we do not know how young and under what social conditions it is possible for speakers to show register or style variability in their speech.

My guess is that the first social features that will appear are major setting and addressee contrasts, since we find very early that bilingual children change language according to locations and persons. Martin Edelman, for example, examined the relation between reports of the expected language for given settings, and dominance as judged by fluency in emitting words in a particular language associated with a given setting. The children were Puerto Rican bilinguals in New York, age 6 to 12. The pattern did not change with age, merely the amount of English dominance. Children knew significantly more English words for education and religion, than for family and home.[8] Church, school, and home are unambiguous settings, for which dominant language was reportable by the children.

In addition, when children role-play they often adopt consistent speech patterns in accordance with the social categories involved -- mothers and babies, doctors, cowboys, teachers, puppets. These situational patterns are relatively stereotyped but do reveal quite early

use of language with consistent feature changes. What we do not know is what features change and what social cues can be generalized beyond particular persons.

We know that consistent code changes in second languages can be learned very rapidly early. Edward Hernandez, in Berkeley, has been studying a three-year-old Chicano monolingual who became relatively bilingual within six months from nursery school exposure, though his English at that time was considerably simpler than his Spanish. We do not know how early or under what social conditions completely consistent control over the situational selection of two social dialects can be mastered. Part of the problem is that we know relatively little about the linguistic features of such competence.

Stylistic consistency. In the more formal types of situations, bilinguals can learn relatively separated codes. Even metaphorical switching tends to be at fairly high syntactic nodes, if both lexical alternatives are available to the speaker, i.e. he doesn't have to use vocabulary from one variety because he lacks words. Some bilinguals even have a range of formal to informal styles in both codes (Gumperz, 1967, 1968).

One of the major differences between the variation found in bilinguals and in speakers with forms from various social dialects has been forcefully argued by Kernan (1969). She points out that there seems to be a lack of co-occurrence restriction in the samples of black speech. One monitors or changes register by increasing or decreasing the frequency of certain variables, sometimes categorically. But an examination of the variables indicating stylistic variation reveals that the variants are side-by-side, without many contingent relations between them. In lower-class black speakers, in the same clause one finds "be" and a possessive suffix, copula deletion and consonant clusters.

Labov, who has examined both individual and group styles in teen-age and adult speakers in Harlem, has been impressed by the inconsistency of their formal style features, especially in the formal test situations typical of schools. "Whenever a subordinate dialect is in contact with a superordinate dialect, answers given in any formal test situation will shift from the subordinate towards the superordinate in an irregular and unsystematic manner" (1968). Claudia Kernan also has found, in classroom

correction tests, that students have no stable notions of what the standard alternative is among the alternatives in their repertoire. Labov, McKay, Henrie, Kernan, and indeed everyone who has collected considerable samples of speech of dialect speakers have found that the full range of most standard forms will appear some time in their speech. That is, the problem of acquiring standard speech is in most cases not that the form is outside the repertoire but that the speaker cannot maintain a consistent choice of standard alternatives. There is inadequate co-occurrence restriction between the standard forms whether they are dialect borrowings or not (Wolfram, 1969).

This is what we would expect if in fact the features that standard speakers use to identify standard and non-standard speech are often used for metaphorical signalling by non-standard speakers. They may hear a higher density of standard features as carrying a particular connotation in a given situation. But some features are not varied for this kind of meaning, and since various combinations of features co-occur there is no strong sense that any consistent style is required. In addition, there is, according to Labov's work, considerable "inherent variation" which may not carry any connotations at all. In standard English this inherent variation is not heard as marking the speaker as incompetent in standard English, but since in non-standard English the variation includes features which are criterial to listeners' judgments of standardness, it appears socially to be inconsistent.

In advising parents who rear bilingual children one usually points out that they should maintain consistency of speaker, occasion, or setting so that the child can be aided in predicting which form to use. But in the case of non-standard English the great bulk of the informal styles heard in the community by children contain a high degree of variability between standard and non-standard features, since the variability is inherent in the dialect. A child who is to be able to make a consistent choice of the standard alternative must mark it categorically in his storage, or at least have some linkages between forms which will make sequential occurrence of standard forms seem normal for him. If the child heard pure standard or non-standard forms this learning would not be a problem. He would learn the standard style as a second language with as brief and trivial interference as we normally find in immigrant children.[9]

But this is not what he hears. He hears highly variable speech lacking in co-occurrence restrictions or predictability from segment to segment, at least at the grammatical level. Small wonder that many speakers are very uncertain as to which is standard, and therefore cannot do classroom correction tests comfortably.

This line of thinking leads me to what may seem like an outlandish proposal. If the problem is to identify "pure styles" and to store them with sufficient separateness to permit stylistic consistency, might it not be appropriate to help identify them by using "monitoring styles" of a sort, by having children role-play, parody, or use narrative styles in which a relatively extreme non-standard without inherent variation on key features might seem appropriate? The other children could then call them on failures. The converse would, of course, be role-playing journalist, doctor, legislator, and so on in standard English grammar. The social appropriateness of such a move in a school might very well be questioned by parents who believe the school is the place for standard English, but such games might enhance maximum adeptness in style switching. There is, of course, some precedent for permitting and encouraging a range of styles in dramatic play, even in school.

In courses helping adolescents in mastering register changes, Waterhouse (1968) has found that even students who did not regularly speak standard English were, as a group, critical of press releases in a role-played press conference if they contained non-standard features like copula deletion. The group itself, without pressure from the teacher, exerted constraints on role-players to keep a consistent register. The method releases the actor from teasing about talking standard English, and potentially may be transferred to situations where the teacher is not present.

The practice of giving students drills in standard English, which has developed in some schools, is based on the assumption that the variants do not exist in their repertoire. Where the variants do exist in the child's repertoire already, and where some already are markers of social meaning, the teacher has a special problem, quite different from that of basic second-language learning. The teacher needs to find the most effective way to give a child training in situational switching which will allow him to use the forms in writing, and in speech situations

where he may be affected by fatigue, fear, and by concentration on the content of what he is saying. That seems to be what parents want to happen.

Comprehension of features. One underpinning of studies of the possibilities of variation in produced speech is better evidence on what features children can hear. Because of the evidence that many variants occur freely, if unpredictably, in children's output, it is sometimes assumed that all children understand all features of standard English. Jane Torrey's work (1969) is a model in studying these problems. She found that sibilant suffixes had markedly different probabilities of being understood or produced depending on their grammatical functions. Almost all the black children in her Harlem sample understood a plural suffix and produced it regularly; almost none understood or produced a verb suffix marking number, as in the "the cat scratches" vs. "the cats scratch"; about half understood and produced the copula, the possessive, and the verb suffix denoting tense, as in "the boy shut the door" vs. "the ooy shuts the door". Torrey has not reported the performances of children who usually hear standard English to see if some developmental factors are present. This study, of course, isolates the features from contextual redundancy, as one must to discover whether a particular linguistic cue can be interpreted alone. The kind of evidence that Labov, Kernan, Baratz, and others have obtained showing that in imitation tasks children translate into their own dialect, may be insufficient tests of comprehension of particular features, since the sentences contain redundancy. For example, Baratz found that white children translated "I's some toys out there" into "there are some toys out there," and black children often did the reverse. But this does not indicate that either group "understood" the first words, rather that the rest of the utterance made this form obligatory in their output. Error analysis of imitation materials with less redundancy would discover what syntactic and morphological features are employed. Torrey's findings are not inconsistent with the important fact that in everyday situations most standard English may be intelligible grammatically to black lower-class children, since in many situations language is redundant.[10]

A recent study by Weener (1969) attempted to separate phonology from whatever semantic and syntactic sequential probabilities are tested by

memory for "orders of approximation" to English. From the standpoint of syntactic differences, this method gives rather gross results and is unlikely to be sensitive to whatever syntactic differences occur in the formal output of lower-class black and middle-class white informants. The interesting finding in this study was that when asked to remember these strings of words, the lower-class black children and middle-class whites did equally well with the materials read by a middle-class speaker, but the whites had trouble remembering the same materials read by a black speaker. That is, just as we might expect on social grounds, black children have more exposure to middle-class white phonology and can interpret it more easily than the suburban Detroit white children could interpret southern black speech.[11]

The Weener results remind us that the critical factors in adjusting to phonological differences, as in adjusting to "foreign accents," are likely to be experience and attitude toward the speaker. Studies of the mutual intelligibility of speakers in varieties of social settings allowing for differences in contacts, in types of speech exposure, and social attitudes towards the other group would inform us about factors causing changes in intelligiblity in our pluralistic society. These studies need to focus on comprehension as such, not output measures like the Cloze procedure, and it would be helpful if they would distinguish fine-grained feature interpretation (as of the plural marker in Torrey's work) from grosser referential intelligibility and the understanding of allusion and metaphor.

One of the most significant findings in Kernan's work and in recent studies of John Gumperz is that there is considerable informational or connotative content in choice among referential equivalents in the speaker's repertoire. A full competence in comprehending the speech of others includes these social interpretations. So far, most research on information transmission has been focused on shapes, colors, and locations rather than on the equally systematic communication of hostility, affection, and deference. It is possible that the latter matters are of greater practical significance, for example in the classroom where teacher and pupil need to communicate respect for each other. If teachers cannot understand when a pupil makes a conciliatory move, for instance, disaster could follow.

Subjective reaction tests. Along with studies of comprehension, we need more information about children's attitudes towards speech varieties and their sense of norms of register and style. There have been numerous studies in which people rate voices out of context (except of topic) by Labov (1966, 1968), Tucker and Lambert (1967), and Williams (1970), for example. Such ratings necessarily tend to be of people or categories of people, since this is all the information the listeners can discover. It turns out to be the case, when specific features used in ratings are examined, that listeners tend to give "categorical" judgments, as Labov first pointed out. They will judge intelligence, ambition, and honesty just from "accent." They do not react to frequencies reliably, but as June McKay (1969) has suggested, tend to pick out the "lowest" ranked social feature (even if it is rare) as an indicator of the speaker's social ranking, provided, of course, it is not contextually accounted for as "marking," such as parody, irony, humor. Williams has found that teachers tend to judge race from a few features. Triandis, Loh, and Levin (1966) and Lambert (1967) imply that teachers will then treat the children by their group stereotype. From a practical standpoint, knowing which features are perceptually critical might help those who aim at giving the children the option of not always being ethnically identifiable from phonology.

One of the fundamental ideas in sociolinguistics, as emphasized earlier, is that speech in fact and in its norms is context-sensitive. We accept baby-talk to infants but not to adolescents. As a measure of children's development of style norms, judgments of the sort just discussed need to be made where the social context is clarified in some way. It remains to be seen how children react to anomalies -- by laughter, criticism, imitation perhaps. Children as young as five will criticize others doing role-playing for using the wrong terminology for the role, e.g. "You can't say 'honey'; you're the baby." Such studies are the judgmental analogue of the role-playing method of studying actually produced style and register changes, and the two kinds of studies should be paired to permit study of the extent to which judgments are finer than ability to produce the forms critical to the judgments. Labov (1965) has found that by the mid-teens speakers who did not themselves produce the most formal alternatives in New York phonology shared the opinion of the rest of the population on what variants were socially higher.

Kernan has commented that certain genres of folk literature, such as songs, poetry, narratives, would be ludicrous in standard English, and Labov (1966) found that childhood rhymes forced use of the most casual vernacular. It would be of great value to know how sensitive children are to these social co-occurrence constraints, especially on genres brought in from outside the school to enlarge the children's fluency in the classroom. If they react to some kinds of performances as sounding wrong in standard English, or vice-versa for those that do require standard English, then efforts by the teacher to mismatch these types of discourse with the wrong style may make the children uncomfortable and silent. For these reasons studies of judgments may help guide teachers toward culturally appropriate varieties of language.

Functions of language. One of the major issues that has come to the fore in sociolinguistics and in applied work in education has been the question of varieties of language function. Bernstein (in press) has pointed out that in England middle-class parents train children in a considerable amount of explicitness about referents, as though they were talking to a stranger or blind person, and no shared assumptions obtained. The result of this training (possibly through the use of known-answer question drills) is that children perform verbal tasks very well in test situations with minimal verbal stimulation. The difference in stress on over-elaboration of detail versus terseness of description, based on shared assumptions, shows up in a variety of studies. Hawkins found that lower-class English children described pictures with many "exophoric" pronouns, which required that the listener see the picture, as indeed he did. Middle-class pupils elaborated nouns and adjectives which specified information the examiner must already have known from seeing the picture. Williams and Naremore (1969) found that when children were asked to be specific, class differences disappeared. But when terse questions were asked, the middle class assumed they should give complicated elaborate answers; the lower class that only minimal necessary responses were needed. Labov has cited examples illustrating the bewilderment of a child taken into a room by a tester and told to "say what is in front of you" when both the tester and the child can see quite well what it is.

The implication of course is that children may have learned that the

function of such communication is to convey information. If they have not been brought up on "known-answer" questions and taught to display their vocabulary and disregard whether the hearer knows the information, they may not understand the intent of such questions.

Kernan described such an incident during her study of the speech of Oakland black youngsters. She asked one child "Where do you live?" and got a vague answer: "Over there" with a vaguely waved thumb. Shortly later Kernan's husband asked the same question. The answer he got was "You go down the stairs, turn left, walk three blocks..." What was the difference? The husband had never been to the child's house, but Kernan herself had picked the child up there.

Social class differences in transmission of referential information may be a function of "set". If so they can be easily changed by instruction or brief training. Studies by Cowan (1967), and Coulthard and Robinson (1968) and Robinson (in press) suggest that they are to some degree the effects of socially different ways of viewing the function of the act asked of them, or the "rules of the game." It is possible of course that skill in the particular domain of vocabulary or previous experience with materials might aid in such performances too.

Of considerable value to sociolinguistic work are studies of language skills developed by children. For example, children often spontaneously play with sounds in the pre-school years, and invite games transforming songs by simplified transformations like Pig-Latin. Where these skills become socially organized, they may develop into identifiable speech categories: nursery rhymes, songs, sounding, toasting, rifting, or rapping. These, in some cases, include oral traditions, knowledge of which is part of the developing competence of children. They may include not only general stylistic features but sequential rules as well. Children's skill is repeatedly evaluated by their peers and good performance is highly appreciated. Houston (1969) has argued that lack of toys among the rural poor whom she studied resulted in more story-telling, language games, and more value on linguistic creativity, spontaneous narrative, and improvisation. Having recently seen a group of forty highly-educated adults and their children around a campfire without even one person skilled enough to carry on story-telling, I can believe education can produce cultural impoverishment!

Analysis of the structure of communication within communities could make us better able to draw events from children's repertoire into the schools, better able to use them in testing competence, in identifying biologically-based retardation, and better able to understand how children interpret tasks they are given to do. Within these speech categories, stylistic variations involving the standard-non-standard dimensions are important carriers of emotional significance. The ability to convey meaning depends on this range of variation. We can expect that as children have contact with members of varied social groups they will learn skill in a wider range of speech categories, learn each other's oral traditions, and learn devices for conveying information about social intent from each other's dialects. Labov has pointed out that the black children he studied valued language highly for cleverness in besting others; this attitude, if fully understood by teachers, could, he proposed, be a basis for enlarging language competence.

Suggestions for Research

1. Tests were developed in schools to predict success in schools as they were constituted, and to assess achievements of the school. The need to compare the achievements of school entities, and to pass the blame for failures onto the child, will unfortunately probably guarantee that tests will continue to be used even when they are not needed for fundamental diagnosis. Diagnosis of biologically based retardation, assuming we have means of pedagogically treating such retardation, is an important function of tests. If this is to be done well, there is a need for tests of basic milestones in competence which contain materials equated in dialect and social biases for the populations to be tested.

In contrast to previous attempts at culture-free testing, sociolinguistic research gives hope of finding how to create communicative settings, tasks, language, and scoring criteria that are fully compatible with the experience of the tested children and are validated within their own social group in cases of fairly clear group differences. Of course, ethnic and class categories do not bound homogeneous groups, so it is not clear in a diverse classroom which test it is appropriate to choose from a package of tests labeled lower-class black, middle-class black, Chicano, and so on. But at least such a pluralistic set might take us beyond the current middle-class white package.

As an example of the improvements of testing and teaching materials which might be gained from a realistic orientation to children's language use, we might cite the weaknesses of reading workbooks and tests. Items which rest on "comparing initial sound" or "rhyming words" depend on the probabilities that children will produce a very specific item of vocabulary for a given picture. They don't work as teaching materials or as valid tests unless the children do in fact "mediate" with these vocabulary items. Sensitive teachers have noticed repeatedly that a large proportion of these items do not elicit the expected names. The differences may be even larger where environmental and social differences exist. Such items are useless for teaching or testing. Another example is the section, in reading-recognition tests, containing word lists which are to be matched to pictures. Even if the words are read aloud, the items in some cases cannot be matched. But in this situation children rely on a single mediated name of the picture more than adults do. Probably such tests are not tests of reading. In paragraph comprehension items, the syntax and content are often such that even if the paragraph were read aloud the child could not understand it. Such a test is not a test of reading skill. The evidence that children speaking social dialects cannot read may be largely based on invalid measures of reading ability. Of course, the effects of this evidence may be self-fulfilling, if teachers believe dialect speakers have trouble learning to read.

2. We need much more work on the social conditions which alter the frequency of social variants in speech. We need work with children to see what the social factors are which increase and decrease ethnic identity markers in their speech at different ages.[12] It is not clear whether the monitoring of ethnic solidarity which Kernan describes has parallels in social categories like "working class" where there are no sharp socially-defined boundaries. But there probably are parallels in all groups to the increase in vernacular usage under excitement that Labov has found.

3. We need to extend sociolinguistic work to a wider variety of groups. The problems of urban schools have, for practical reasons, led to a focus on black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano groups. However, developmental sociolinguistics is appropriate to any child; upper-class children have stylistic variation in their speech too, and can be studied to gain

basic information about age changes in the structure and function of speech variation. Any groups speaking non-standard English are equally appropriate for the study of the relations between standard and non-standard; areas of regional migration allow for group identity marking through speech variables (e.g. southern white migrants in various social classes in Detroit). Since the social and the linguistic factors are slightly different in each of these groups, better generalizations about basic processes would be available if the range of groups studied were extended. There is a practical factor; such work is always contingent on collaboration or principal direction by in-group members.

4. We need to explore teaching methods for increasing competence in code-switching and to find out the ages for which different teaching methods are suitable. At present, unfortunately, most research on second-language learning has been so a-theoretical and ad hoc that we know very little of basic relevance to questions of how different features of language can be learned. Role playing, developing of tasks with appropriate registers that the children themselves recognize and reinforce (e.g. Waterhouse) are examples of possible methods to use. It is not clear when formal instruction, drills, individual tutoring, peer group learning, or teaching by older children from the same social group might be most effective. How does one learn appropriate frequencies where there is inherent variation, vs. the learning of categorical features?

One of the problems in suggesting changes in educational methods is the lack of close study of actual classroom interaction. Teachers are not conscious of the methods they use. Tapes and videotapes can provide a way to locate the effective features of current methods, methods chosen post hoc as most effective, or methods used in experimental studies. Since communication is not merely verbal, videotapes may considerably enrich our ability to interpret what happens in the classroom.

5. We need far more studies like Torrey's exploring fully the range of comprehension of specific features of various types of English to various types of listeners. It would be of value to know whether teachers understand their pupils, for example, in terms of specific grammatical features.

6. We need to explore the place of reading and writing in the linguistic life of the child. Labov found many Harlem teen-agers did not

know if their close friends were literate. Literacy was not necessary for the activities of the boys. Exploration of children's values about language might lead to ways of devising uses of language, and specifically reading for beginners, that are relevant to interests they already have; later one hopes new interests arising from what they read will carry them further.

It is not clear how important type of language is in reading; adults frequently have strong attitudes that only a standard English is appropriate for reading. Navahos have not been especially receptive to efforts to make a written language of Navaho; English is for writing. Schools, of course, are not immune from adult community pressures; if it could be shown that literacy in the vernacular clearly aids literacy in standard English then the adults might be persuadable.

7. We need to explore in detail the structural relations between the child's oral comprehension skills, his speech, and reading and writing. I know of no evidence that learning to understand written language (as contrasted with reading aloud) is generally affected by the child's dialect of English. Labov has pointed out that the underlying form is in many cases the same for standard and non-standard words and merely deletion rules apply. All children need to learn the relation between deletion and the spelled form; all English speakers learn there is no one-to-one relation between spelling and sound, and learn to depend to some extent on some sight vocabulary or contextual guessing. In other parts of the world where children speak a highly valued local dialect, learning to read a standard is no problem.

Two directions of research need exploration. One might be to explore the issues of comprehension apart from reading aloud. If part of the problem is the social one of punishment by teachers who do not recognize when speech is the child's equivalent of what is written, the teacher's judgment either must be changed or by-passed. In effect one would teach children to decode written symbols to their meanings by having them hear the written material before reading it aloud themselves. Children would, of course, engage in sotto voce articulation while reading but they would not be directly punished or rewarded for this vocal behavior.

A second possibility would be better investigation of the relation between standard English and the child's comprehension and production.

We could test the child's specific feature knowledge as Torrey has done, and build materials related in systematic ways to this knowledge. I am not persuaded that dialect speakers are unique in having difficulties decoding inflectional suffixes in listening or reading. Labov has evidence that white boys as well as blacks do not readily interpret the -ed suffix in reading as a past tense indicator, especially in early adolescence and pre-adolescence. In cases where such grammatical features are not readily understood, they may not normally interfere with comprehension, given the redundancy of most texts, but they clearly are important in marginal cases and in writing. Specific instructional materials could focus on these issues.

Joan Baratz and William Stewart have proposed that children will learn to read faster if the grammatical structures used in primers are derived from or are structurally similar to the children's own output (Baratz and Shuy, 1969). Such materials could, of course, be prepared by teachers from stories told by the children with lexical normalization of spelling but not of syntax. We need detailed research with appropriate controls. With content and vocabulary controlled, does a child learn faster if the grammatical structures used come from his own output? What if they are like his most standard forms? His most non-standard forms (as in the Baratz-Stewart materials)? Variable, as verbatim materials would be? It is clear that different content,[13] different grammar but conventionalized orthography, different vocabulary and concept familiarity might all be at issue and should be studied separately.

Case histories of learning to read, with details of teacher-child interaction, might help us locate points of difficulty and develop better theories of the reading process, and more important, better teacher-training methods. It is to be hoped that detailed recordings will be available of children's performance as they learn to read the Baratz-Stewart materials.

It is quite possible that the structural features of the materials in terms of dialect are not important in themselves, given that children understand most standard English structures and that many differences are superficial. Teachers and supervisors who have worked in many schools with dialect speakers complain that the fundamental problem is that many middle-class teachers do not believe that poor children, especially dialect

speakers, can easily learn to read. I could list a variety of types of observed teacher behavior toward lower-class children that could be the kinds of discouraging cues that children emotionally understand, or that more directly reduce the opportunity of the child to learn. There are dramatic examples of teachers who have brought below-average IQ slum children to the third grade level in reading while in first grade. We need to identify and videotape the teaching methods of such teachers and locate by experiment what are the key features of their method, and then teach with these videotapes.

If the Baratz-Stewart materials do result in faster learning, one reason might be their effects on teacher attitudes. If teachers believe the child has a language and a culture of his own that they themselves do not fully understand they are less likely to treat him as "deficient." This may be a key difference in attitudes toward immigrant children and native ethnic minorities. One cannot teach this lesson by exhortation; teachers who begin to realize the children know something they don't know may respect the children more. Therefore research on the effects of teaching materials should include some sensitive indices (perhaps of the Lambert speech guise type) of changes in social attitudes towards dialect speakers on the part of teachers and administrators.

8. We need more research on the development of children's subjective reactions to language. How early, and by what features, do they identify categories of speaker? Are there sex differences, as so many studies have shown, in the direction of greater preference for and use of formal variants by girls? How early can children differentiate the standard English of various ethnic groups? How do they evaluate it?

9. While we know that children as young as 20 months old produce "baby talk intonation" to babies, we do not know how soon they react to misplaced baby talk as anomalous, or judge meanings on the basis of speech variables. We need to know how children develop this kind of norm.

10. We need to explore for practical as well as theoretical reasons ways of training teachers to understand non-standard speech. John Gumperz has made two proposals along these lines. One is that systematic non-standard dialects be taught to teachers as second languages. In this way, teachers would be brought to recognize the systematic character of the dialects and to understand how they convey meaning. I believe also, from

work on second-language teaching, that there might be a very strong attitudinal impact on the teachers. Learning a second language through methods of close imitation of native speakers is a dramatic personal experience. Success in imitation (within the range of adult articulatory rigidity) might be a sensitive measure of intergroup attitudes.

The second method proposed by Gumperz would be similar to some "sensitivity training" techniques. Taped interaction between pupils or teachers and pupils of different dialect backgrounds would be selected to show misunderstanding of the meaning of linguistic features and/or stylistic variation. For instance, suppose an excited child used more dialect features than he would normally use in the classroom and the teacher heard these as hostile. Two groups of listeners again of different dialect backgrounds could separately be asked to make judgments about the social meaning of each utterance. The differences in these judgments would bring to light systems of meaning that are not the same in the two groups, and allow some learning about humor, irony, and insult.

11. We need to know more about the impact on children's attitudes of teachers' use of the vernacular in the classroom. Some programs are already systematically teaching the vernacular (for instance, "Pocho") to teachers.[14] In the case of non-standard black features, Kernan's work suggests that non-standard features out of context may have implications of ridicule, e.g. if non-standard grammar is used without associated phonological and paralinguistic features. Yet Baratz' method of teaching reading implies that the teacher knows how to speak non-standard English appropriately.

12. We need to know how stylistic consistency with co-occurrence constraints can be learned, since children hear speech which is variable at home and among their friends. A good deal needs to be known about whether role-playing can increase consistency, and whether a bi-polar contrast between two relatively consistent "codes" is required or optimal for developing separately stored features lexically, phonologically, and syntactically. The practical implications of more work on the learning of co-occurrence rules are considerable.

Notes

1. The ideas in this paper have been influenced considerably by discussions with John Gumperz, to whom I have not always given due credit. Participants in the conference will recognize that many of the suggestions made during the discussion have been incorporated here in the interests of preserving them. They were so much group products that I am not sure how to attribute them. I have received many insightful suggestions about primary school classroom problems from teachers and former teachers, including particularly Eileen Green, Herbert Kohl, Mary Jamieson, and Mary Suzuki.

2. For theoretical discussions of communicative competence, see Hymes (n.d.). For some research suggestions regarding developmental sociolinguistics, see Slobin (1967). The term "sociolingustic" rather than "communicative" is used here to exclude the many forms of skill in non-linguistic communication which also undergo development, and show up at an earlier age than conventional linguistic communication.

3. With biological abnormalities we include birth damage, damage arising from malnutrition in gestation or infancy, damage from malnutrition of the maternal grandmother during pregnancy, damage from chronic illnesses, as well as genetically based brain deficiencies. From a social engineering standpoint it is important of course to differentiate these sources, since something can be done about malnutrition, illness, and the higher incidence of birth damage among the poor.

4. Stewart (1970) in particular has argued strongly that the number and importance of grammatical differences between non-standard black English and any form of standard English is greater, for historical reasons, than other social dialect differences.

5. For further discussion of these points see Hymes (1964) and Ervin-Tripp (1964). The further development of the importance of repertoire in social meaning has been in the work of John Gumperz (Blom and Gumperz, in press; Gumperz, 1967, 1964).

6. A striking finding of this study was that speakers valued the local vernacular highly and could not believe that they employed standard Norwegian words and features for certain kinds of speech. The relation between the vernacular and a standard has been an educational issue in many parts of the world; studies in other places might often be relevant to developmental issues in the United States.

7. A vivid example of completely unconscious marking which was not a direct imitation appeared in Labov's study of lower-east-side New York speech (1964, p. 97). A Negro without ethnically distinctive speech told a story about a dangerous experience. In the dialogue he included, he represented his own speech in his typical unmarked casual style, but he also represented the speech of the person he feared, since he was supposed to have threatened someone with a gun. This voice was rasping and rapid, with rough southern Negro features. He later reported that the other person was --- Hungarian!

8. The discrepancy between the children's report about neighborhood language, which they rated as predominantly Spanish, and their work fluency scores, which were significantly greater in English for the task of naming objects in the neighborhood, illustrates the problems of using tests rather than recordings of natural conversation. It is possible that most "doorstep conversations" common in the Puerto Rican neighborhoods were in Spanish, but that vocabulary for nameable shops and objects was English primarily, and likewise that considerable English was in fact used in conversations which speakers believed were normally, expectedly in Spanish. John Gumperz (1967) has particularly emphasized the difference between questionnaire answers and actual behavior.

9. We distinguish immigrant children here from children in those bilingual communities where the same conditions of admixture of English and other forms may obtain in some cases. Many instances have been observed in which bilinguals cannot identify the language of provenance of a form because it is used in both their codes.

10. This statement may sound over-optimistic. There are many registers outside of the everyday experience of most people. With more open enrollment in universities, some students may encounter, for the first time, with discouraging results, lecturers who use complex nominalizations, and unusual types of sentence embeddings, in addition to new vocabulary and subject matter. The assumption that syntactic learning ends in childhood is not socially realistic, but there has been little systematic study of complex registers.

11. In studies which disconnect syntax from phonology, there is a serious confounding because of the likelihood of some co-occurrence rules between the two levels. Non-standard syntax with "standard" phonology is bizarre and quite different in meaning from non-standard syntax and congruent phonology. In the same way, the standard syntax and stereotyped stage non-standard phonology employed by Stern and Kieslar (1968) was so bizarre a combination black children could not understand it very well. In the Weener study the syntax had no clear identity, and the black speaker's phonology was a natural formal reading style.

12. In some features there is a slight increase during adolescence. We can expect the peer culture will alter norms and that the progress from childhood to adult status will be affected not only by increasing knowledge in which children become more like adults, but by the effects of strongly age-graded attitudes and also by generational changes in norms that remain with the teen-agers when they are adults.

13. Some primers have simply painted the faces of children for minority readers. A deeper change might entail using the kinds of names and nicknames actually in use, culture content of interest to the children, but, more important still, thematic cores that engage the children. At this conference, it was pointed out that black children like the Five Chinese Brothers because they are rewarded for cleverness, which is highly valued in black culture. It was mentioned that Ping, about a duck lost from his flock on a Chinese junk, appealed to

Navahos. The metaphor of the flock of ducks is parallel to the flock of sheep which is the core of traditional Navaho material values. At least, one should not assume that such superficial features as geographical location is primary in a child's interest or his sense of "relevance".

14. For instance, a current program for Chicano teachers at Sacramento State College.

References

Baratz, J.C. A bi-dialectal task for determining language proficiency in economically disadvantaged Negro children. Child Development, 1969, 40, 889-902.

----- and Shuy, R.W. (eds.), Teaching black children to read. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

Bernstein, B. A socio-linguistic approach to socialization: with some references to educability. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), Directions in sociolinguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, in press.

Blom, J.P. and Gumperz, J.J. Some social determinants of verbal behavior. In J.J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), Directions in sociolinguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, in press.

Blount, B.G. Acquisition of language by Luo children. University of California, Berkeley: Language-Behavior Laboratory Working Paper No. 19. (Ph.D. Dissertation), 1969.

Brown, R., Cazden, C.B., and Bellugi, U. The child's grammar from I to III. In J.P. Hill (ed.), Minnesota symposium for child psychology. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969.

Cazden, C. The neglected situation in child language research and education. In F. Williams (ed.), Language and poverty: Perspectives on a theme. Chicago: Markham, 1970.

Coulthard, R.M. and Robinson, W.P. The structure of the nominal group and elaborateness of code. Language and Speech, 1968, 11, 234-250.

Cowan, P. The link between cognitive structure and social structure in two-child verbal interaction. Symposium presented at the Society for Research on Child Development meeting, 1967.

Edelman, M. The contextualization of schoolchildren's bilingualism. In J. Fishman, R.L. Cooper, R. Ma, et al., Bilingualism in the barrio. Final Report, 1968, Yeshiva University, Contract No. OEC-1-7-062817-0297, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 525-537.

Ervin-Tripp, S.M. Sociolinguistics. In L. Berkowitz (ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology, vol. 4, New York: Academic Press. 1969.

-----. An analysis of the interaction of language, topic, and listener. In J.J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), Directions in sociolinguistics, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, in press.

Fischer, J.L. Social influences in the choice of a linguistic variant. Word, 1958, 14, 47-56.

Geohegan, W. The use of marking rules in semantic systems. University of California, Berkeley: Language-Behavior Laboratory Working Paper No. 26, 1969.

Gumperz, J.J. Cognitive aspects of bilingual communication. Unpublished manuscript, 1968.

-----. Linguistic and social interaction in two communities: In J.J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), The ethnography of communication. American Anthropologist, 1964, 66, Pt. 2, No. 6.

-----. On the linguistic markers of bilingual communication. In J. Macnamara (ed.), Problems of bilingualism. Journal of Social Issues, 1967, 23, Pt. 2, 48-57.

Gumperz, J.J. and Hymes, D. The ethnography of communication. American Anthropologist, 1964, 66, Pt. 2, No. 6.

-----. Directions in sociolinguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, in press.

Hawkins, P.R. Social class, the nominal group and reference. Language and Speech, 1969, 2, 125-135.

Heider, E. Style and effectiveness of children's verbal communications within and between social classes. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1969.

Henrie, S.N. A study of verb phrases used by five year old nonstandard Negro English speaking children. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

Houston, S. A sociolinguistic consideration of the Black English of children in northern Florida. Language, 1969, 45, 599-607.

Hymes, D. Toward ethnographies of communication. In J.J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), The ethnography of communication. American Anthropologist, 1964, 66, Pt. 2, No. 6, 1-34.

-----. On communicative competence. Unpublished manuscript.

Jensen, A.R. How much can be boost IQ and scholastic achievement? Harvard Educational Review, 1969, 39, 1-124.

Kernan, C.M. Language behavior in a black urban community. University of California, Berkeley: Language-Behavior Laboratory Working Paper No. 23 (Ph.D. dissertation), 1969.

Kernan, K. The acquisition of language by Samoan children. University of California, Berkeley: Language-Behavior Laboratory Working Paper No. 21 (Ph.D. dissertation), 1969.

Labov, W. The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966.

-----. Stages in the acquisition of standard English. In R. Shuy (ed.), Social dialects and language learning. Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965.

-----. The study of language in its social context. Studium Generale, 1970, (in press).

-----, Cohen, P., Robins, C., and Lewis, J. A study of the non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. Final Report, OE-6-10-059. Columbia University, New York City, 1968.

Lambert, W. A social psychology of bilingualism. In J. Macnamara (ed.), Problems of bilingualism. Journal of Social Issues, 1967, 23, Pt. 2, 91-109.

Lenneberg, E. Biological foundations of language. New York: Wiley, 1967.

McKay, J.R. A partial analysis of a variety of nonstandard Negro English. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

Osser, H., Wang, M., and Zaid, F. The young child's ability to imitate and comprehend speech: A comparison of two subcultural groups. Child Development, 1969, 4, 1063-1075.

Rainey, M. Style-switching in a Headstart class. In Studies of Interaction, University of California, Berkeley: Language-Behavior Laboratory Working Paper No. 16, 1969.

Robinson, W.P. Social factors and language development in primary school children. In R. Huxley and E. Ingram (eds.), Mechanisms in child language development, in press.

Shuy, R., Wolfram, W., and Riley, W.K. Linguistic correlates of social stratification in Detroit speech, Final Report, OE-6-1347, 1967.

Slobin, D.I. (ed.). A field manual for cross-cultural study of the acquisition of communicative competence. University of California, Berkeley, Associated Students' Bookstore, 1967.

Stern, C. and Keislar, E. An experimental investigation of the use of dialect vs. standard English as a language of instruction. OEO Project No. IED 66-1-12.

Stewart, W. Toward a history of American Negro dialect. In F. Williams (ed.), Language and poverty: Perspectives on a theme. Chicago: Markham, 1970.

Torrey, J. Teaching standard English to speakers of other dialects. Paper presented at Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Cambridge, England, 1969.

Triandis, H.D., Loh, W.D., and Levin, L. Race, status, quality of spoken English, and opinions about civil rights as determinants of interpersonal attitudes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 3, 468-472.

Tucker, R., and Lambert, W. White and Negro listeners' reactions to various American-English dialects. Paper presented at Eastern Psychological Association meeting, 1967.

Waterhouse, J. Report on a Neighborhood Youth Corps Summer Language Program, July 1 - August 2, 1968. University of California, Berkeley, 1968.

Weener, P.D. Social dialect differences and the recall of verbal messages. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1969, 60, 194-199.

Williams, F. Psychological correlates of speech characteristics: On sounding 'disadvantaged'. Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, 1970, 3, 472-488.

----- and Naremore, R.C. On the functional analysis of social class differences in modes of speech. Speech Monographs, 1969, 36, No. 2, 77-101.

Wolfram, W. A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

RESPONSE TO

Social Dialects in Developmental Sociolinguistics

Claudia Mitchell Kernan, Harvard University

The notion of communicative competence provides a much needed frame of reference for examining language development. It relates language development to a community of speakers of a language and to the intricacies of acquiring native speaker competence in any language, i.e. the social rules for language use. From this perspective, interpreting the language behavior of any group becomes problematic. The absence of such a frame of reference makes the results of much comparative work on children from different social groups irrelevant, at best. This brings us to one of the most important issues raised by Dr. Ervin-Tripp, concerning the failure to deal meaningfully with the testing of culturally different populations. It is important enough to bear reemphasis.

Many misconceptions concerning the abilities and development of culturally different children have originated in culturally and linguistically biased research. Many such findings have been incorporated into teachers' mythology about their pupils, producing an atmosphere of low expectation and a rationale for academic failure. Some of this research, by obfuscating rather than clarifying issues, has done substantial damage.

The findings summarized here underscore Dr. Ervin-Tripp's point that we cannot assume the validity of tests which attempt to assess abilities and competencies across dialect and social boundaries.

Errors in interpretation have been so gross as to equate the absence of a Standard English device for expressing some grammatical meaning, such as possession, with the absence of that concept or the absence of grammatical means for expressing it. Some findings indicate that our "nonverbal" child may become highly verbal in response to a shift in interlocutor or topic. A subject's inability to elaborate verbally disappears when efforts are made to be explicit in orienting him to a task. Some children will not elaborate verbally, however, when they define the task as information communication. They will not seize the opportunity to demonstrate fluency, as children from other social groups might.

There is much lip service paid in the literature to the problem of cultural bias in testing. It is my impression that cultural bias is for the most part viewed as introducing relatively minor error into analysis, in much the same way that a statistician might view the imprecision which results from rounding procedures. Sociolinguistic research does indeed point to new avenues of approach which promise to reduce some aspects of this bias. Dr. Ervin-Tripp's suggestion that attempts be made to orient tests directly to the speech community that is being tested and that validation take place within this context is most important.

I would like to add further that we need to develop a far more skeptical attitude toward interpreting tests and the results of our research. Even where there is no disjunction between the cultural background implicitly assumed in a test and that of the subjects, many of the tests can hardly be thought of as instruments of precision in terms of what they purport to measure. In terms of the interpretations and inferences drawn from rather crude instruments, including ill-conceived research designs, one would think that the instruments being utilized were thermometers and ampmeters! Yet the practice of translating test results into intelligence quotients, level of cognitive development, and level of linguistic development persists. "Level" is important here because there seems to be a predilection for talking in some hierarchical way about the differences these tests reveal. Sociolinguistic findings ought to suggest that much of what passes as measurement of ability and development is basically in need of rethinking.

Social dialect is being viewed as the source of a variety of ills. It has been linked to failure to acquire reading skills and inability to conceptualize logically. The latter view apparently derives from the notion that a social dialect is inadequate structurally and, more recently, functionally as a medium of communication in academic endeavors. Social dialects are thought to be a problem source in that they create intelligibility problems, problems which may stem from sociolinguistic as well as purely linguistic factors.

The basic confusion which occurs in some writings, concerning the relationship between language and logic, is dealt with in depth by Labov in "The Logic of Non-standard Negro English" (Report of the Twentieth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Study, Georgetown

University Press, 1970.) The notion that the structure of a language disposes its speakers to illogical modes of expression and conceptualization is again refuted. Dr. Ervin-Tripp notes that there is little evidence which would support the view that a child's dialect of English presents serious problems for his learning to understand written language. A single orthographic system supports a variety of spoken dialects of English and nowhere is the spoken language precisely represented by the orthography. This issue is in need of resolution nevertheless, because it is being used as an explanation for reading failure. Social dialect is probably not as directly a source of academic failure as we are prone to assume. We might envision, for example, what might happen if reading readiness is judged by phonological indices which are derived from a speech community other than that of the child tested.

We cannot hope to resolve problems which are so vague and poorly defined. In addition, we cannot hope to develop a sense of priority in research without addressing ourselves to these issues.

The entire issue of teaching Standard English to speakers of social dialects is in need of meaningful rationales if new approaches are to be developed. We can also hope to gain by greater specificity in defining what it is we mean by Standard English. We need to abandon vague references to network English and the language of major affairs. There is hardly a case to be made for the homogeneity of this language. Should control of a defined standard be a goal in writing or in speaking? Competence in a written standard may be a far more important feedback system to a spoken language than any amount of patterned practice. Moreover, the correction of written language might circumvent the creation of inhibitory responses in children.

There is the implicit assumption in much of our research that the school is a culture contact situation. Our task seems to be defined as the successful interpretation of the culture and behavior of the "problem" target group to the socializing agents of the school. This is a rather one-sided approach to a contact situation. The unknown quantity is thought to be the target group and little if any attention is paid to understanding the culture and social structure of the school. We understand the school only in terms of highly codified beliefs and values which underlie and rationalize formal education. I would like to see research

conducted which focused on the classroom as a social situation, and here again sociolinguistic methods have a great deal to contribute. We might for example adopt such methodology in an effort to understand the additional roles and identities the major actors bring to this arena. This kind of focus could provide some much needed insight into how, in the context of the school, academic growth becomes subordinated to other ends.

In the case of the black community, ethnographic data accumulating on black folk culture has made attractive the possibility of incorporating parts of this culture into the school curriculum. We are witnessing the development of dialect readers, some of which bear little relation to the dialect as it is spoken and which fail to maintain linguistic distinctions which are intra-culturally meaningful. Many differences between English as it is spoken in black communities and non-black communities can not be represented as categorical rules. Rules for the selection of contrasting variants have not been specified in detail. In some cases they relate to intra-culturally meaningful definitions of appropriateness with regard to social situation, interlocutor, etc. Linguistically defined black variants occur side-by-side with their Standard English referential equivalents. It has become patently clear that the linguist's view of black language is removed from the native speaker's view.

Reaction in the black community to black English as it is portrayed in some grammars and readers has often been negative. Many social scientists have interpreted this as a further manifestation of the group's negative self-image. From this perspective the attitude of the black community is seen as a self-inflicted source of complication to otherwise reasonable remedies. As mentioned before, many representations of black English differ to such a degree from the language as it is presently used that they ought to presage the reaction. The search for a new identity underway in black communities everywhere and the spirit of rebellion against an identity defined by outsiders should be adequate forewarnings to non-blacks making efforts to define and institutionalize a black language.

Lack of intelligibility between English dialects is not a matter of linguistic facts alone; it involves the attitudes of speaker-hearers. In fact intelligibility itself may be a sensitive index of attitude.

This "problem" dialectal heterogeneity between pupil and teacher and

pupil and pupil could become an important resource and point of departure for creative language arts programs rather than a barrier to academic success.

APPROACHES TO SOCIAL DIALECTS IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Courtney B. Cazden, Harvard University

Research Assumptions and Review

I start with the assumption that professional researchers and educators in the field of early childhood education are sincerely and earnestly trying to do good work; that they are trying to understand the language of children and its relation to educability, and trying to do something that will help these children achieve more in school. It is a sad fact that despite the work of these people, with considerable monies at their disposal, success stories are hard to find. With the rise of more militant and articulate leadership in minority groups, there is a growing crisis of confidence in the findings of white researchers on which the educational programs have been based. Linguistic analyses, largely from the work of Labov (1969, 1970), support such complaints. The papers and articles of the Baratzes (1970), Stewart (1969) and Labov (1969) have brought the issue to sessions of APA, SRCD and the pages of speech journals and the Harvard Educational Review. The confrontation is here.

A few quotations will document the concepts about language implicit in many of the preschool programs. (See John and Moskovitz (1970) for a review of this field.) Consider a recent monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development (Brottman, 1968) which contains expanded versions of papers first presented at the 1967 meetings of that society. In his introduction, Brottman, organizer of the symposium and editor of the monograph, says:

> American education has witnessed rapid growth in preschool educational programs. The majority of these programs are designed to be compensatory in that perceived experiential deficits in children are to be met as completely and as quickly as possible.... Cognitive objectives include adequate performance in the use of language. There is considerable agreement among persons concerned with the education of young children that young disadvantaged children can benefit from standard English language experience (Brottman, 1968, pp. 1-2).

Among contributors to the monograph are representatives of two contrasting positions on the philosophy of early childhood education: Minuchin and Biber from Bank Street who advocate a "child development

approach," and Jean Osborne, a teacher in the Bereiter-Englemann program in Illinois since its beginning. They disagree on appropriate curriculum and teaching methods, but the assumptions underlying their programs differ more in specificity than in direction.

False assumptions are also built into the tests most widely used to diagnose children's language and evaluate their progress. The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA) (Kirk, McCarthy and Kirk, 1968) is one such test which was used in two important studies: Karnes' (1969) careful research on the comparative effectiveness of alternative preschool curricula, and the Westinghouse study of Headstart (Cicirelli et al, 1969).

Karnes found that the disadvantaged children in her sample scored low on three ITPA subtests:

> Verbal Expression: The child is shown an object (e.g. a nail) and asked to "Tell me about it."
>
> Grammatical Closure: A test of the child's knowledge of standard English noun and verb inflections. "Here is a bed. Here are two ___."
>
> Auditory-vocal association: An analogies test which taps children's knowledge of opposites. "A daddy is big; a baby is ____."

Karnes comments: "In addition to the specific aspects of language functioning measured, the ability to express oneself verbally is the common requisite for successful performance on these three subtests." (1969, p. 164).

In the Westinghouse study, the Headstart children and their equally disadvantaged controls scored below the norms on three subtests: auditory-vocal association and grammatical closure as in the Karnes research, and one other:

> Auditory Reception: The child is asked to say yes or no, or nod or shake his head, to questions such as "Do chairs eat?"

In their specific recommendations, Cicirelli et al comment that these three subtests correlate with school achievement and that:

> ... since grammatical closure tests the ability to respond automatically with proper grammatic form, more intensive training in standard English appears needed. As basic language patterns of grammar develop quite early in life, this is an area where even earlier intervention might produce more effective and lasting results (1969, Vol. 1, p. 249).

Implicit in the design of these preschool programs and in the content and interpretations of these tests are the following confusions and misconceptions:

1. There is such vagueness about the locus of the children's problems in their "use of language" that use of Standard English forms can easily slip in as the most specific goal.

2. Performance in a particular test situation is taken as evidence of "ability." (See Glick, 1968, for further discussion of this distinction.)

3. If grammatical distinctions are not encoded in SE form, it is assumed that the child can not encode them at all. There is no recognition, for instance, that the distinction between a man teacher and a man's teacher might be encoded by intonation (as SE speakers would do to differentiate blackbird from a black bird).

4. Whether or not there is any evidence that speaking a nonstandard dialect is a cognitive liability, or a barrier to understanding the books or the teacher, it is asserted that the child must learn SE because it is the language of the school. It is the child that must be changed.

5. If current programs have failed to increase school achievement, we must make the same attempts earlier in the child's development.

Suggestions for Research

Research and development is needed on three sets of questions:

1. Questions about how to change the conceptions of language held by teachers and researchers.

2. Questions about the implications of dialect differences for education.

3. More general questions of educational objectives and contexts.

Changing Conception of Languages. The first order of business is a matter of professional development: how to change the conceptions which researchers and educators have of the nature of language. Can we prepare convincing materials and find media of dissemination which will convey the points below?

A. The mere fact of learning a language demonstrates possession by the learner of complex and abstract conceptual abilities. This very important implication of transformational grammar for cognitive psychology needs to be spelled out in detail. Labov (1970) has made a beginning. Potentially, this is a source of powerful evidence that conceptual ability is present in all children, and that the task for education should be seen as finding techniques to teach the child to use his ability in culturally-defined ways.

B. The situation affects how a child's language ability (competence) is activated in his actual verbal behavior (performance) (Cazden, 1970; Houston, 1970). This is partly a matter of the inter-personal relations which prevail, and partly a matter of cultural differences in interpretation of the stimuli and directions in both tests and school tasks. Consider the directions on the ITPA vocal encoding subtest: "Tell me about it." Labov's general comments on tests apply:

> One can view these test stimuli as requests for information, commands for action, as threats of punishment or as meaningless sequences of words. They are probably intended as something altogether different: as requests for display (Labov 1970, p. 170).

The role of the situation as determinant of the child's verbal behavior applies to teaching as well as testing. The NSSE yearbook on Theories of Learning and Instruction (1964) includes two chapters on readiness. One is on "developmental" readiness: the child's abilities, knowledge, motivation, etc. The other, by Karl Pribram, is on "immediate" readiness: those factors in the immediate situation which determine whether the child's attention is engaged and sustained. See Kagan (1969) for dramatic evidence of the effect of test conditions on Stanford-Binet scores. See Cazden (in press) for further discussion.

C. Social class differences in speech behavior and stylistic shifts within a social class fall on a continuum which is a single continuum for the middle-class teacher and her lower-class pupil rather than separate categories:

> But members of a speech community are not aware of this. Their experience is limited to (a) a wide range of speech styles among their own family and friends, and (b) the speech of a wide range of social classes in one or two styles. Thus the teacher hears the differences between middle-class and working-class children in classroom recitation, but does not follow his students home and hear them at their ease among their own friends. He does not realize how similar the students are to him—how they fit into the same sociolinguistic structure which governs his own behavior. Instead, teachers like most of us tend to perceive the speech of others categorically: John always says dese and dose, but Henry never does. Few teachers are able to perceive that they themselves use the same non-standard forms in their most casual speech; as we will see, almost everyone hears himself as using the norm which guides his speech production in most formal styles. In a word, the differences between speakers are more obvious than their similarities (Labov 1969, p. 17-19).

D. The expectations which a teacher has for his children will influence how he teaches and how much his children learn. There is

mounting evidence that one of the most important cues a teacher responds to in developing these expectations is his children's speech. Frederick Williams (this Volume, pp. 1-12) reports that teachers evaluate children more negatively when their speech has non-standard pronunciation and syntax. There is no reason to believe the preschool teachers, in-service or pre-service, would be less susceptible to these prejudiced reactions. Holmes and Friedman (1968) compare the evaluations of a Headstart teacher in Coney Island with observations and IQ tests of the children in her class. The teacher's ratings of her children's intelligence did not correlate with actual intelligence test scores, and they were biased by such actual behaviors as the child's willingness to respond to directions and his general verbal skills.

We do not know how a training program for teachers should be designed to deal with such misconceptions and biases. Since they are deeply founded in the teachers' own past experience, they probably will not be changed merely by learning the facts of language differences.

Implications of Dialect Differences for Education. Dialect differences do exist, and the following questions require further research (see chapter on "Dialect Differences" in Cazden, in press, for more extended discussion).

A. We need tests of the child's language competence in his own dialect. Bruce Fraser of Harvard and the Language Research Foundation (Cambridge, Mass.) is working on such tests. His general approach is to define a set of functions for which all language must provide in some way: modification, topicalization (which subsumes the switch from active to passive), asking questions, etc.; to determine how these functions are expressed in particular languages or dialects (of most immediate interest in black English, or Nonstandard Negro English (NNE) to use Labov's term); and then to assess children's ability to comprehend and produce the forms these functions take in their native dialect.

B. The effect of dialect differences on children's scores on other tests needs to be further investigated. Quay (1971) has completed a study of the effects of translating the Stanford-Binet into NNE. William Stewart made the translation and approved tapes of Quay's testers using his translation. Subjects were disadvantaged black 4-year-olds in Philadelphia. No difference was found between scores on dialect and standard versions of

the test, nor between different reinforcement (motivation) conditions. Dr. Quay is now repeating the study at the nine-year age level. Her interpretation of the results (which are in the opposite direction from any experimenter bias) is that children have more ability to comprehend standard English than has been assumed.

C. Careful research is needed on the use of materials written in NNE for teaching beginning reading (Baratz and Shuy, 1969). Baratz and Stewart at the Education Study Center are developing such materials and trying them in 18 classrooms. Their primers are unique in both language structure - There go Ollie for This is Ollie and cultural content - hustling for a nickel on the street corner. The planned control material is some other previously existing set of urban readers. While this project may have considerable importance for curriculum development and demonstration, it will not avoid a Hawthorne effect; it will not separate the effect of dialect structure and content; and 18 classrooms are too many to permit the more microscopic analysis of the reading process which is needed. Labov's suggestion (1969, p. 67) of recording oral reading with a microphone around the child's neck to catch both his reading and the teacher's corrections should be profitable in these classrooms as well as in those where conventional materials are used.

D. We need more information on which features of NNE contribute most to un-intelligibility and (separately) to prejudicial reactions. We also need to separate fact from folklore about what liabilities exist for NNE speakers in the world of jobs. Service industries are one source of expanded employment opportunities in the future, and the telephone company is one place where communication is critical. Of the 101,000 operators employed in N.Y.C., 7,000 are Negro or Puerto Rican. But even here it is not obvious that dialect per se is the main problem.

> One spot check a few weeks ago disclosed some kind of "communication difficulty" in 25% of information calls. Dr. Bray [a psychologist in charge of employment and training] cited a typical example: A woman called information and asked for Korvette's. The information operator, who did not know Korvette's was a department store, asked the woman for "Mr. Korvette's first name." (N.Y. Times, August 29, 1969, p. 18).

Even with this information, questions of what do do with young children are still open, but such information is necessary if not sufficient for educational planning. Note that such information needs to be continuously brought up to date as social distance and attitudes change over the years.

E. We also need to know more about the attitudes of black parents and community leaders toward language goals for their children. What importance do they place on the acquisition of standard English? If we are convinced, as I assume we are, that acquisition of SE is not an intrinsic requirement of any cognitive process or intellectual task, then decisions about "to teach or not to teach" must be based on values. What is the nature of the good life, and what is the role of the school in helping to achieve it?

In society as it is now, speaking a lower-class dialect may be a social liability per se. But, accepting this fact, one can still say "Let's work to change society rather than impose our prejudices on the children." In my experience, that position is held more often by white professionals (e.g. O'Neil, 1968) than by blacks - professionals or not. But is it possible that black professionals who argue for giving children the options they themselves have enjoyed may overestimate the role of SE as a causal factor in their own personal success? Is it possible that they "made it" for other reasons and learned to be bidialectal in the process?

A question of values is a political decision which should be made, or at least shared, by those whose children we teach. I realize there is no one opinion in the black community. But the more we know about the range of opinions and the factors influencing them, e.g. social class background, degree of contact and involvement with black nationalism, etc., the more wisely educators can proceed. As with D above, such information on attitudes and values will have to be monitored at intervals and in local communities. In one study of Black attitudes, Cazden, Bryant and Tillman (1970) found that Black parents of preschool children were most in favor of SE instruction, preschool teachers were ambivilant and uncertain, while community leaders asserted most strongly the child's need for both SE and NNE, for "making it" and "going home".

F. If the decision is made that school should help children become bidialectal, it is still unclear how and when teachers should act. I know research is proceeding on the how, and that part of this conference will be devoted to an examination of oral language materials. But are we also investigating the when? How much variation in speech style can children of various ages control? Do the assertions that foreign languages are

harder to learn after early adolescence apply to learning a second dialect? If attitudes play a critical role in dialect-learning, at what age are those attitudes most apt to work for oral language instruction rather than against it? For instance, Labov makes the strong assertion that "Those who know the sociolinguistic situation cannot doubt that reaction against the Bereiter-Engelmann approach in later years will be even more violent on the part of the students involved, and the rejection of the school system will be even more categorical" (1970, p. 180). In summary, at what age are ability at style-switching, flexibility of motor control, articulation and grammatical patterns, and attitudes toward SE (as influenced by peer group identification and/or vocational hopes) at optimal values for second-dialect instruction?

Finally, there is the very interesting cognitive process which Labov calls "monitoring", i.e. the attention which the speaker pays to his own speech. A speaker's attention increases in stylistic shifts from casual to more formal occasions. It also increases with a shift in content in the direction of greater explicitness, as when talking in low-context situations. Is the process of monitoring one's own speech the same in these two cases? Does attention to explicitness tend to produce an automatic shift toward SE as well? If so, is this process of monitoring related in anyway to the so-called "abstract" use of speech for intrapersonal functions? Maybe the more experience children have in conversations where such monitoring is required, the earlier they become aware of their own language, and "listen to themselves" as they solve intellectual tasks. This may seem a far-out idea, but hypotheses are sorely needed to explain how different inter-personal uses of language differentially affect the speaker's disposition to use language as an aid to thought. Perhaps investigation of this process of monitoring could be a start.

Educational Objectives and Contexts. To go into any detail on questions of general educational objectives and contexts would quickly go beyond the mandate of this conference. Three general questions will suffice.

A. Paul Olson, director of the Tri-University project in Elementary Education reminds us:

> A teacher must possess extraordinary knowledge and humanity if he is to distinguish what the school demands of children simply to symbolize its capacity for authority over them from what it

> legitimately 'demands' or 'woos out of them' to equip them for a niche in a technological society (1967, p. 13).

In the area of verbal behavior, Labov makes a comparable distinction between "verbal skills" needed for success in school and all the "verbal habits" of middle-class speakers. The two are not identical, and a very important job remains to be done in separating out the essential verbal skills. Here I am talking not about dialect but about language functions essential for success in the mainstream culture. Interpersonally, many children need to learn to communicate in low-context settings to a more "generalized other" (Heider et al., 1968; Kochman, in press). Intrapersonally, many children need to learn to use their language for more abstract thought (Blank and Solomon, 1968; 1969). Fishman reminds linguists that "linguistic contrasts between social classes represent merely the beginning of sociolinguistics, rather than its goal" (1969, p. 1109). In the fall of 1965, just after the first summer of Headstart, the Office of Economic Opportunity sponsored a conference on research on the language of disadvantaged children. "Sociolinguistic interference" between the functions of language in and out of school was singled out as an important topic for research. One outcome of that conference is a forthcoming book on Functions of Language in the Classroom (Cazden, John and Hymes, eds., in press). But work in this area has only begun.

B. We need to know more about what children learn in highly structured programs like those designed by Bereiter and Engelmann, Merle Karnes, David Weikart and Susan Gray. Such programs do affect children's scores on ability and achievement tests, and the gains can, under some circumstances, be maintained. But we know virtually nothing about how to interpret these facts. The simplest answer is that children learn the content of the tests, but this is probably as oversimplified as the dialect explanation of why black children get lower scores in the first place. Bereiter himself supplies an important insight.

> This interpretation has received something of a blow, however, from a recent and as yet unpublished study in which we tried out a new curriculum generated by working backward from the Stanford-Binet to create a universe of content for which the Stanford-Binet could be considered a content-valid achievement measure. Going at it in this bald-faced manner, we expected to obtain enormous but, of course, psychologically meaningless IQ gains on the Stanford-Binet. As a check on non-specific effects, we also used the WPPSI as a pre- and post-test, without its contents being known during the experiment either to the

> curriculum writers or to the teachers. Contrary to expectations, the gains on the Stanford-Binet were not large compared to those regularly obtained with the academically-oriented curriculum — about 12 points, and the gains on the WPPSI were exactly the same as those on the Stanford-Binet (Bereiter, 1969, pp. 315-316).

Something more basic must be changed, something like "attending on demand and persisting in a cognitive task." It probably has little to do with language competence per se; it certainly does not depend on the false analysis of that language which Labov so rightly assails. Yet it may represent an important part of being socialized to use language in the ways demanded in school.

C. No changes in research or educational programs conducted by white people will eliminate the crisis of confidence in that work. We need black researchers, and we need programs designed by black educators. We also need money for training programs and financial support for black-designed schools. In addition to the immediate benefits to the pupils, such schools could provide settings for more valid research on black children's language.

References

Baratz, S.S. and Baratz, J.C. Early childhood intervention: The social science base of institutional racism. Harvard Educational Review, 1970, 40, 29-50.

Baratz, J.C. and Shuy, R.W. Teaching black children to read. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

Bereiter, C. The future of individual differences. Harvard Educational Review, 1969, 39, 310-318.

Blank, M. and Solomon, F. A tutorial language program to develop abstract thinking in socially disadvantaged preschool children. Child Development, 1968, 39, 379-389.

-----. How shall the disadvantaged be taught. Child Development, 1969, 40, 47-61.

Brottman, M.A. Language remediation for the disadvantaged preschool child. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1968, 33, Whole No. 8.

Cazden, C.B. The neglected situation in child language research and education. In Frederick Williams (Ed.) Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a theme. Chicago: Markham, 1970. Pp. 81-101. Expanded version in Journal of Social Issues, 1970, 26, 35-60.

-----. Child language and education. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, in press.

-----. Bryant, B.H. and Tillman, M.A. Making it and going home: The attitudes of Black people toward language education. Harvard Graduate School of Education Bulletin, Spring 1970, 4-9.

Cazden, C.B., John, V.P. and Hymes, D. (Eds.). The functions of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College Press, in press.

Cicirelli, V. et al. The impact of Head Start: An evaluation of the effects of Head Start on children's cognitive and effective development. Vols. I and II. Bladensburg, Md.: Westinghouse Learning Corp, 1969.

Fishman, J.A. Literacy and language barrier: Review of P.E. Vernon, Intelligence and cultural environment and J.C. Baratz and R. Shuy (Eds.), Teaching black children to read. Science, 1969, 165, 1108-1109.

Glick, J. Some problems in the evaluation of preschool intervention programs. In R.D. Hess and R.M. Bear (Eds.), Early education. Chicago: Aldine, 1968. Pp. 215-221.

Heider, E.R., Cazden, C.B., and Brown, R. Social class differences in the effectiveness and style of children's coding ability. Project Literacy Reports, No. 9. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1968, pp. 1-10.

Holmes, M.B., Holmes, D. and Friedman, A. Interaction patterns as a source of error in teacher's evaluations of Headstart children. Final report to OEO. New York: Associated YM-YWHAs of Greater New York, August, 1968.

Houston, S.H. A reexamination of some assumptions about the language of the disadvantaged child. Child Development, 1970, 41, 947-963.

John, V. and Moskovitz, S. Language acquisition and development in early childhood. In A.H. Marckwardt (Ed.), Linguistics in School Programs. 69th Yearbook, Part II. Chicago, Ill.: National Society for the Study of Education, 1970. Pp. 167-214.

Kagan, J. Inadequate evidence and illogical conclusions. Harvard Educational Review, 1969, 39, 274-277.

Karnes, M.B. Research and development program on preschool disadvantaged children. Vol. 1. U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1969.

Kirk, S.A., McCarthy, J.J., and Kirk, W.D. The Illinois test of psycholinguistic ability (revised edition). Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1968.

Kochman, T. Black English in the classroom. In C.B. Cazden, D. Hymes and V. John (Eds.), The functions of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College Press, in press.

Labov, W. The study of non-standard English. Washington, D.C.: ERIC, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

-----. The logic of non-standard English. In F. Williams (Ed.), Language and poverty: Perspectives on a theme. Chicago, Ill.: Markham, 1970.

National Society for the Study of Education. Theories of Learning and Instruction. 63rd Yearbook, Part 1. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Olson, P.A. Introduction. The craft of teaching and the school of teachers. Report of the first national conference, U.S. Office of Education Tri-University Project in Elementary Education, Denver, September, 1967.

O'Neil, W.A. Paul Roberts' rules of order: The misuses of linguistics in the classroom. The Urban Review, 1968, 2 No. 7, 12-16.

Osborn, J. Teaching a teaching language to disadvantaged children. In M.A. Brottman (Ed.), Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1968, 33 (8), 36-48.

Quay, L.C. Language, dialect, reinforcement, and the intelligence-test performance of Negro children. Child Development, 1971, 42, 5-15.

Stewart, W.A. On the use of Negro dialect in the teaching of reading. In J.C. Baratz and R.W. Shuy (Eds.), Teaching black children to read. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969, pp. 156-219.

RESPONSE TO

Approaches to Social Dialects in Early Childhood Education

Robert D. Hess, Stanford University

As a social psychologist who works with children, I have been involved in the study of language and its effect largely because of my interest in the differential socialization patterns of mothers of dissimilar social and cultural backgrounds. I have disagreed for some time with the interpretation of "cultural deprivation or deficit." A more compatible point of view to me is that language follows social structure, and that changes in those elements of the social context that evoke speech would be more effective in modifying children's speech than working directly with vocabulary. I still think that is true; and the recent research on ethnic dialects seems not to argue against such a concept of interaction of social structure and language.

It has become increasingly clear that the studies of Labov and others on the nature of black dialect and on the verbal fluency of children and adults in the ghetto necessarily modify some of the initial assumptions on which "compensatory" educational programs were constructed. A number of papers have described with great forcefulness the middle-class white bias with respect to language that was characteristic of the professional writings and the school curricula of these early programs.

These perspectives on the problems of language and language development in early educational programs, however, reflected the state of knowledge in the field.

From the standpoint of education and child development, I would like to point out that it was researchers in child psychology and child development who first tackled a problem which had been almost completely ignored by linguists and, despite an initial lack of information, their contribution has been useful. We are aware of the need for a new perspective, but as an educational researcher I would like to ask for elaboration and differentiation of some of the ideas and concepts that have come up in this paper and in the conference. At the moment clarification will be much more useful than castigation.

From the viewpoint of research and program development one contribution

would be to translate, modify, adapt some of the things that are now known so that they will be available to research, to teacher training, to child development training programs and to other non-specialists in linguistics. Let me enumerate some of the differentiations that might be helpful, that you recognize in your own discourse and in your own work but which are not quite so clear to those peripheral to the field. I would like to see more clearly spelled out the differences among: 1) the prestige value of language, 2) linguistic competence, and 3) the versatility of a language as a vehicle for communicating feelings and ideas. It is difficult to know what linguistic competence means in the context of our conversations today but perhaps there is something which can be regarded as competence, apart from prestige. Can the concept of linguistic competence be made operational?

These distinctions are important in an inquiry into the role of language in cognitive development and cognitive operations. They are not readily apparent, however. It would be very useful to know whether the issue is only one of the prestige of a particular language form and that no questions of linguistic competence need to be raised. Is it possible at this point to say with assurance that there are no academic or cognitive consequences of particular forms and levels of competence in speech that do not flow from the biases and the negative sanctions of teachers against a particular linguistic form? Is the problem indeed simply one of translation and of learning a second language, or are we dealing with something more fundamentally relevant to the kind of linguistic and mental operations needed for effective functioning in a technological society?

It would also be helpful if there were a somewhat more explicit description of the intra-ethnic variations in language competence and semantic capability. I assume that there is within black English a hierarchy of prestige as there obviously is in standard white English. There is, I take it, in most other linguistic families, social class or other differentiations which are correlated with different prestige rankings. These can be differentiated from contrasts between ethnic groups. The papers of this conference deal with the black versus white standard English. It might be helpful if some additional clarification were offered on variations within groups as well as between them.

I am impressed, too, with the problems of education within a plura-

listic society. A more nearly multicultural approach to education is clearly necessary but it does create a number of practical problems. What does a teacher do who has three different ethnic groups in her class—some black, some white, and some Mexican-Americans—with regard to language development? That there must be respect for differences in language and culture is clear but implementing such a goal involves a set of very difficult practical problems. We need help in distinguishing those things that differentiate within ethnic groups in prestige and in linguistic competence.

There is another cluster of issues that has been brought up in some of the papers presented here and in much of compensatory education. This is the deep concern that those who are involved in research in compensatory education have in both social change and the social consequences of their work. I suggest that one should distinguish among research pursuits, professional activities which have social and moral implications, and issues which are essentially political in nature. These are all mixed together in much of what we do in compensatory education and there is a blurring of lines between various facets of our professional lives. Some of our colleagues have argued recently that evaluation of educational programs is essentially a political activity, and that the quality of the research is not relevant, i.e. that evaluation is for political purposes and should be thought of in these terms. I think we should try to maintain distinctions among: 1) research findings, 2) implications that have developmental and educational follow-through, and 3) things that are more strictly political, such as a change in the status and prestige of a minority group within the society. There is likely to be, for example, a positive change in the prestige of black culture, including black English. This is a political as well as an empircal research problem.

I find it useful to keep separate for analytical purposes the role of the school as a site for teaching cognitive operations and capabilities and as a socializing agent for inculcating values of the society. The teacher, indeed, has to be oriented towards the child and his needs, but she also has to keep looking over her shoulder at the community. She is not free to do things entirely on her own. The school is, after all, an agent of the society and, as such, the values of the community are transmitted through it. The teacher must defend what she does within the

constraints of the fact that the schools are supported by public funds and represent a much wider and typically nonacademic audience.

In line with the orientation of the conference toward program development in the Office of Education this kind of issue deserves special attention. The teacher also needs to deal with strong community and internal pressures, some of which clearly favor the melting pot concept. The prestige of language follows from the prestige of the groups; perhaps changes in the prestige of ethnic groups in this country may do as much as our language training can to change attitudes in the entire educational system. Perhaps black power may do as much as Head Start to improve the educational level of black kids. These processes are much more diffuse, perhaps, than any of us realize and the linkage between them is relevant to both the teacher and the researcher.

SOCIAL DIALECTS FROM A LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Walt Wolfram, Center for Applied Linguistics

Research Assumptions

The investigation of language in relation to social class is essentially based on two sets of assumptions: one dealing with the cognitive function and one with the behavioral function of language. The assumptions concerning the cognitive function of language—language as CODE—deal with the communicative capacity of language as a system of signs. The assumptions relevant to the behavioral function of language—language as BEHAVIOR—deal with language as one aspect of cultural behavior through which societal roles are carried out. The first set of assumptions is generally considered within the proper limit of descriptive linguistics as it has traditionally been defined, but the second set of assumptions is considered only when the broader context of language in society is included. It is for this reason that the assumptions dealing with language as code, which are part of most introductory courses in descriptive linguistics, are well-known by even elementary linguistic students. The second set, however, is not as obvious to linguists, but appear to be essential for the investigation of social dialects. Of course, there is an essential interrelationship between these two sets of assumptions, so that the separation of them in our discussion should be looked upon as a matter of convenience more than theoretical justification.

Language as Code. The research assumptions of linguistics in relation to the study of language differences are derived from the anthropological tradition of cultural relativism.[1] When anthropologists at the turn of the century reacted to the evaluative measures of their predecessors in describing non-western cultures, they set the stage for a similar reaction in relation to language. American anthropologists such as Boas, Kroeber, and Herskovitz insisted on viewing cultures descriptively rather than by some yardstick of evolutionary development. Such an approach precluded classifying a language as "underdeveloped", "primitive" or inherently inferior simply because it was used in a

culture devoid of the technological implements found in western civilization. The notion of "primitive" languages was denounced as a product of ethnocentrism by socially and technologically superordinate cultures.

Descriptive linguists, then, simply adopted the same assumptions about language that anthropologists maintained for non-linguistic aspects of cultural behavior. Even as anthropologists rejected the Procrustean mold of western civilization in describing other cultures, linguistic descriptions rejected the mold of the classical languages in describing non-Indo-European languages. The opinion that languages have many different ways of expressing "underlying" logical operations became the cornerstone of assumptions about language differences. At first, these assumptions were relevant mainly to languages compared across clear-cut cultures; later they became relevant to the comparisons of speech differences for different social levels within the framework of a larger culture. It is within the latter framework that we shall discuss the basic linguistic assumptions concerning social dialects.

One of the basic premises about the nature of language is that verbal systems are arbitrary, established only by convention.[2] Although one cannot deny a certain degree of consistency in the relation of language to the outside world, relationships between objects and linguistic signs are arbitrary. All languages adequately provide for the conceptualization and expression of logical propositions, but the particular mode (i.e. grammar) for conceptualizing may differ drastically between language systems. The linguist, therefore, assumes that different surface forms for expression have nothing to do with the underlying logic of a sentence. There is nothing inherent in a given language variety which will interfere with the development of conceptualization.[3] This is not to say that differences between the handling of logical operations may never correlate with different social classes; however, on the basis of this premise, it cannot be related to language differences, since all language varieties adequately provide for expression of syllogistic reasoning.

To those familiar with the current interest in nonstandard English, particularly Black English (the language variety spoken typically by lower-class blacks), it should be apparent that this assumption does not coincide with the conclusions of some of the current projects in the

area. Yet, the work of Bereiter and Englemann (1965, 1966) proposes such a view. To suggest that Black English imposes certain cognitive limitations on the logical operations of Black English speakers and to reject it as "illogical" is not generally taken seriously by linguists. Ultimately, such notions seem to be derived from a prescriptive norm for language usage, although philosophical dictums about the logical nature of certain rules of a language add a ring of authority to such pronouncements.

To illustrate one of the most cited examples of the inherent logical foundation of Standard English, we can cite the use of negatives with indefinites. If a person uses a sentence such as John didn't do anything, it is understood negatively, but if a person should use the sentence, John didn't do nothing, it can only be meant as a positive statement since two negatives logically make a positive.[4] In this view, if a person uses the construction in a sentence such as John didn't do nothing because he was so lazy, he is using English in an illogical way. Therefore the sentence does not mean what the speaker thought it meant. The speaker apparently means that John did not work, but by saying John didn't do nothing he affirms that John actually did something. Interpretations of this sort ignore a quite regular rule in Black English (as well as in languages such as Spanish and Italian) which states that when you have a negative sentence with indefinites, you may add a negative element to every indefinite (e.g. We ain't never had no trouble about none of us pullin' out no knife or nothin'). In the underlying structure there is only one negative, which is simply realized on every indefinite.

Essential to understanding the underlying proposition of the above sentence is the distinction between "deep" and "surface" structure in language.[5] Deep structure is basically a system of propositions that interrelate in such a way as to express the meaning of the sentence, while surface structure is realization of these propositions in terms of the particular grammatical devices (e.g. linear ordering, grammatical categories) of the language. The knowledge of language involves the ability to assign deep and surface structures to an infinite range of sentences, to relate these structures appropriately, and to assign a semantic interpretation and phonetic interpretation to the paired deep

and surface structure. The failure to understand this relation is, no doubt, responsible for some of the misinterpretation of nonstandard varieties of languages. We see, in the case of Black English multiple negation, that the basis for arguing for its supposed illogicality is found in the mistaken identity of a surface structure for a deep structure.

Proclamations about the inadequacy of Black English on logical bases, from a linguistic perspective, are attributed to a naive disregard for one of the primary premises about the nature of language. Yet, Bereiter maintains that a difference between the negative patterns of Black English and Standard English is an indication that the black ghetto child is "deprived of one of the most powerful logical tools our language provides" (1965:199). Bereiter claims that a black ghetto child "does not know the word not" since his subjects did not regularly give him the form in negating a sentence such as This is not a book. The assumptions of Bereiter, however, reveal two misconceptions. In the first place, he has confused the inability of the student to give him the word not in a specific elicitation task with the child's unfamiliarity with the lexical item. Labov (1970), observes that many of the formal elicitation procedures in the context of a classroom can be quite intimidating to the student and the best defense may be no verbal response at all. Intensive research on the structure of Black English in Washington, D.C. and Detroit clearly indicates that not is an integral part of Black English. Secondly, Bereiter is apparently unaware that the use of other negative patterns may serve the same purpose as not. Thus, a sentence such as This ain't no book may communicate the same negative pattern as not although the structure of the sentence is different. What is essential is not the occurrence of a particular lexical item, or a specific syntactical pattern, but the realization of a particular type of underlying structure involving negation. Whatever deficiencies in logical operations may or may not exist among black ghetto children, these have nothing to do with language.[8]

A second assumption of the linguist is the adequacy of all languages or dialects as communicative systems. It is accepted as a given, that language is a human phenomenon which characterizes every social group, and that all language systems are perfectly adequate as communicative

systems for the members of the social group. The social acceptability of a particular language variety is totally unrelated to its adequacy as a communicative code. The question concerning different language varieties is not the WHAT but the HOW of communication. Thus, the consideration of the so-called disadvantaged child as "nonverbal", "verbally destitute", or at best, "drastically deficient" in his speech is diametrically opposed to this basic assumption. That there are typical situations in which young children do not respond because of the uncomfortableness of the social situation, or as a protective device against middle-class meddling, should not be interpreted as meaning that the child does not emphasize the importance of verbal manipulation.

As Labov (1970) has vividly pointed out, monosyllabic responses in certain types of social situations involving a teacher and child might be an effective defense to a hostile and threatening situation. But if an indigenous social situation is set up, the same child who was judged as nonverbal on the basis of a formal test situation may be shown to be highly verbal and manipulative in his speech. Linguists assume that the label "verbal destitutions" cannot refer to vernacular language patterns in an indigenous setting, but to the impression of speech created by a non-indigenous social setting.

Some linguists, following Chomsky (1965), would assume the communicative adequacy of any language or language variety on the basis of an innate "universal" grammar (i.e. it is a putative attribute of being human). This innate language propensity involves the following properties, according to Chomsky (1965:30):

(i) a technique for representing input signals

(ii) a way of representing structural information about these signals

(iii) some initial delimitation of a class of possible hypotheses about language structure

(iv) a method for determining what each hypothesis implies with respect to each sentence

(v) a method for selecting one of the (presumably infinitely many) hypotheses that are allowed by (iii) and are compatible with the given primary linguistic data.

Other linguists, following the behavioralist tradition explicated by Skinner (1957), insist that the acquisition of language should be attributed to a stimulus-response relationship rather than an innate

universal grammar. From this perspective, the adequacy of language systems would be claimed on the basis of cross-cultural comparisons. That is, the postulate about the communicative adequacy of languages is derived inductively, based on the empirical data from a representative sample of world languages. Both approaches, then, would make the same claim about the adequacy of language systems, although their reasoning for such a position might differ somewhat. Although both approaches arrive at the same conclusion with respect to this issue, there is one important implication which should be brought out. Chomsky's perspective assumes that any normal child will have the equipment to deal with the logical operations underlying language because language is an attribute of the human mind (see Chomsky 1968). But it is possible, given the behavioralist perspective, that a particular type of environment might inhibit the acquisition of the logical properties necessary for an adequate language system.

The question of adequacy of nonstandard dialects as communicative systems brings out a very important matter: that of how one views a nonstandard language variety. In actuality, the viewpoint is much broader than the linguistic situation, reverting back to a basic approach to different social groups. One can, for example, view black ghetto culture and language in terms of two basic models, which Baratz (1968) has called deficit or difference models.[7] A deficit model treats speech differences in terms of a norm and deviation from that norm, the norm being middle-class white behavior. From a sociological perspective, this means that much of black ghetto behavior, which differs from middle-class behavior, is viewed as deviant or pathological behavior. In terms of speech behavior, Black English is considered, in the words of Hurst (1965:2), "the pathology of non-organic speech deficiencies". On the other hand, a difference model, which seems to be much more common to anthropology than sociology and psychology, considers socially subordinate societies and language varieties as self-contained systems, inherently neither deficient nor superior. Language varieties are different but equal.

Although this dichotomy between a deficit and difference model may be somewhat oversimplified, it sets a helpful framework for considering theoretical approaches to nonstandard dialects. But there is also a practical importance in such a distinction. If, for example, one simply

considers nonstandard dialects to be corrupt approximations of standard English, one may miss important structural facts about the nature of these dialects. For example, consider the following interpretation of the finite use of the form be, a commonly cited feature of Black English. Ruth Golden, who views Black English in terms of a descending scale of deviation from Standard English states:

> Individuals use different levels of language for different situations. These levels vary from the illiterate to the formal and literary. For instance, starting with the illiterate, He don't be here, we might progress to the colloquial, He ain't here, to the general and informal He isn't here up to the formal and literary, He is not present (1963:173).

From the perspective of a deficit model, be, is simply considered a corrupt approximation of Standard English. The possibility that be may have a grammatically different function is precluded. Instead, it is only considered as a "substitution" for the finite forms of Standard English am, is and are. The linguist, however, looks at this use of be descriptively; that is, he asks about the grammatical function of this form. When such an approach is taken, we find that the form be represents a grammatical category which seems to be unique to Black English. This, of course, is not to say that all linguists will accept a given descriptive analysis of this form (see Wolfram 1969:188-196) although a number of analyses agree that it is used to represent a habitual action of some type. This kind of disagreement is no more serious than the disagreements that linguists may have over the function of the have auxiliary in Standard English. Common to each description of be, however, is the rigorous method of linguistic analysis, based on the assumption that this form has a linguistic function in its own right. The insistence on language varieties as systems in their own right (with both similarities and differences to related varieties) is the reason that linguists view with suspicion such terms as "substitutions", "replacements", "omissions", "deviations", etc. Such terms used with reference to nonstandard language varieties imply a value judgment about a given variety's relation to the standard variety. Terms like "correspondence" and "alternation" do not have these same implications: they are statements of fact about language relations. While terminology may seem to be a trivial matter for the linguist to consider, the association

of such terms with the deficit type of approach raises a danger signal to the linguist. Taking the position that nonstandard constructions are simply inaccurate and unworthy approximations of Standard English can lead to an inaccurate description of what is assumed by the linguist to be a self-contained system, which is perfectly adequate for communication.

Our previous point concerning the adequacy of nonstandard varieties of English as a system of communication naturally leads us to a further premise concerning language, namely, that it is systematic and ordered. Any view of language differences which treats them as unsystematic and irregular will thus be categorically rejected by the linguist. It is assumed that descriptive data of related languages will always reveal regular and systematic correspondences between different types of constructions. One can readily see, then, why the linguist reacts negatively to views of nonstandard language such as that offered by Hurst, who subsumes differences between Black English and Standard English under the rubric "dialectolalia":

> ...dialectolalia involves such specific oral abberations as phonemic and subphonemic replacements, segmental phonemes, phonetic distortions, defective syntax, misarticulations, mispronunciations, limited or poor vocabulary, and faulty phonology. These variables exist most commonly in unsystematic, multi-farious combinations (1965:2).

Hurst's position unambiguously treats Black English as an irregular, unsystematic and faulty rather than a different but equal system. Furthermore, such a position can only be taken when actual descriptive and sociolinguistic facts are ignored, for the linguist would claim that all evidence points to differences between Standard English and Black English which are systematic and regular. Take, for example, the case of word-final consonant clusters in such words as test, ground, and cold. In Black English, the final consonant is absent more often than in even the most colloquial forms of Standard English. This is the result of a systematic correspondence of a single consonant in Black English where a cluster is found in Standard English. Thus, we get something like tes', groun', and col' in Black English. But these final consonants are not absent randomly or unsystematically. We observe that the correspondence of a single consonant for a word-final cluster only occurs when both members of a potential cluster are either voiced or voiceless, such as st, nd, sk, and ld. But when one of the members is voiced and the other

voiceless, as in the clusters mp (jump), lt (colt) and nt (count), this correspondence does not occur. Instead, Black English is like Standard English in that both members of the cluster are present. The view that differences between related language varieties are random and haphazard not only conflicts with a linguistic assumption, but it also can be dangerous from a practical viewpoint. It can lead to an unsystematic approach in teaching Standard English, as well as the teaching of points that may be irrelevant in terms of the systematic differences between the two language varieties.

As a final premise of the linguist, we must observe that language is learned in the context of the community. Linguists generally agree that children have a fairly complete language system by the age of 5 or 6, with minor adjustments in language competence occurring sometimes until 8 or 9. This system is acquired from contact with individuals in the child's environment, i.e. through the parent-child relationship or from child peers.

Whether one maintains that the child has the innate capacity to search for abstract grammatical rules from which sentences are generated (a la Chomsky) or one insists on a behavioralist perspective (a la Skinner), it is presumed that the child will have established an overall language competence by the age of 4-6. The rate of development is generally assumed to be parallel for children of different social groups (see Slobin 1967 for an actual investigation of this question); lower-class children learn the nonstandard dialect at approximately the same rate as middle-class children learn the standard variety of English. This assumption of the linguist concerning the rate of language development again comes into conflict with basic statements of educational psychologists such as Engelmann, Bereiter and Deutsch, who speak of the communal "language retardation" of ghetto children. Bereiter states:

> By the time they are five years old, disadvantaged children of almost every kind are typically one or two years retarded in language development. This is supported by virtually any index of language one cares to look at (1965:196).

Closer investigation of this claim reveals that these children are considered to be linguistically retarded, and, in many cases, to be cognitively deficient simply because they do not speak Standard English. Thus, if a black lower-class child says He nice, a correspondence of the

present tense Standard English He's nice, it is considered to be an underdeveloped Standard English approximation and equivalent to the absence of copula at a particular stage of Standard English development (see, for example, Bereiter and Engelmann 1966:139-140). The fact that this form is used by adult speakers is irrelevant, only indicating the permanence of this retardation. The linguist, however, suggests that Black English is simply one of many languages, including Russian and Hungarian, which have a zero copula realization in the present tense. No meaning is lost; an "identity statement" is just as permissible in this language as any other language. This form has no relation to the ability or inability to conceptualize. Similarly, auditory discrimination tests (such as Wepman's 1958) which are designed on a Standard English norm are de-facto dismissed by the linguist as biased against the nonstandard system. The learning of Standard English must be clearly differentiated from language development of an indigenous dialect. Careful attention should be made, from the viewpoint of linguistic relativism, in order not to erroneously transfer legitimate language or dialect differences into matters of language acquisition.

The linguist, in support of the linguistic equality of nonstandard dialects, considers evidence on relative language proficiency (as that recently provided by Baratz 1969) to be an empirical justification for his claims. Baratz conducted a bi-dialectal test in which the proficiency of a group of black ghetto children in repeating Standard English and Black English sentences was compared. As might be expected, the black children were considerably more proficient in repeating the Black English sentences. When they repeated the Standard English sentences, however, there were predictable differences in their repetitions based on interference from Black English. The same test was then administered to a group of white middle-class suburban children, who repeated the Standard English sentences quite adequately, but had predictable differences in their repetition of the Black English sentences based on interference from Standard English. Which of these groups, then, was linguistically retarded? We must be careful not to confuse social acceptability (and no one would deny the social stigmatization of nonstandard dialects) with language acquisition.

In sum, the relativistic viewpoint of the linguist emphasizes the

fully systematic but different nature of social dialects. All language varieties are efficient as communicative codes, and adequate for cognitive development. Inherent in the definition of LANGUAGE is the capability of expressing the logical propositions that are the basis of human thought.

Language as Behavior. In the previous section, we limited ourselves to linguistic assumptions which serve as the basis for the investigation of the cognitive function of language. But language must also be viewed in terms of its social function: language as behavior. And, when we view the role of language in terms of its social function, the linguist (or more properly, the sociolinguist) also operates on the basis of a number of general assumptions about language in society. Some of these assumptions might more correctly be considered hypotheses, given the current state of sociolinguistic research.

It is axiomatic that language is one form of cultural behavior. If we assume that social differences in a culture will be manifested in non-linguistic behavioral patterns, then we may also expect that behavioral differences will be realized in language. Language differences presume social differences. Several anthropological linguists, particularly Hymes (1962, 1964, 1969) and Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1969) have explicated the numerous types of social factors which may effect linguistic differences, including setting (e.g. locale, situation), participants (e.g. sex, age, status), topic (e.g. religion, athletics, politics), and functions (e.g. requests, commands, rituals). Although we are primarily concerned here with language differences which result from the differentiation of social positions, the interrelationship of social class with other social parameters is so intrinsic that it cannot be discussed completely apart from these.[8] It is the interaction of these various social parameters that is basic to the assumption that language differences result from social differences.

It should be noted that I have deliberately used the term result from in describing the relationship of linguistic and social differences, since I wish to imply that this relationship is one of cause and effect. Although the term correlation is often used to describe this relationship and may be accurate in terms of a particular descriptive model, it is not used here because of its neutrality with respect to cause and effect. Ultimately, the description of linguistic differences implies a

cause and effect relationship between linguistic and social differences. Because of this relationship, it may be suggested that the description of linguistic differences is dependent upon an ethnographical description. Hymes observes:

> As the discovery of structure, sociolinguistics can be seen as an extension of usual linguistic description. The extension reaches a point, however, at which its dependence on social description becomes clear and inescapable. As description becomes sociolinguistic, it becomes partly ethnography, for the functions that underlie structure must be empirically determined. They can neither be taken for granted, nor merely postulated, and to determine them requires socio-cultural knowledge (1969:3).

Views on the extent to which ethnographical description must precede the description of language differences within a society vary greatly. For example, DeCamp (1968) first groups speakers solely on the basis of linguistic differences. Having grouped speakers on this basis, he then proceeds to describe some of the social characteristics of this linguistically defined group. On the other hand, Wolfram (1969) based the description of linguistic differences solely on pre-determined socio-economic groups. In the former case, it may be argued that the "natural" division of groups on a linguistic basis is a more reliable indication of sociolinguistic differences than the use of an objective socio-economic index which can only represent one manifestation of social class. In the latter case, it may be argued that the description of linguistic differences in terms of predetermined social groups takes advantage of what we do know about some of the objective indices of social class and may have implications concerning the validity of social class distinctions. The two approaches are not, of course, mutually exclusive, so that one might manipulate his data to take full advantage of the insights to be derived from viewing the data both ways.

Although the heuristic procedure and theoretical model for handling the relationship between language and social differences may have important implications for the descriptive adequacy of sociolinguistic data, basic to all sociolinguistic investigations is the cause and effect relationship between social and language differences.

Due to the prevalent, if not universal, nature of social class in culture (even in so-called classless societies, where social class is not overtly acknowledged), we also assume that some type of language

normativization will take place. To put it another way, language standardization is inevitable. For various socio-cultural reasons, all languages or dialects are not considered equal in their social acceptability, so that one of the languages or dialects becomes established as normative when compared with others.[9] Although we might give a general definition of a standard language, such as a codified set of language norms which are considered socially acceptable, more specific definition is dependent on the particular language situation. In one case, it may be the language of a high-prestige group which becomes emulated by others. In another case a dialect or group of dialects may become standardized by default: that is, a dialect(s) NOT spoken by socially stigmatized groups. (This may, in fact, be the most operative definition of Standard English.) In another case, it may be defined in terms of socio-political dominance.

In many instances the establishment of a standardized language is formal, as through the codification of a norm in prescriptive grammars and codifying agencies such as the school. It is also possible for a standardized language to be established through informal means. Language standardization can take place on two scales. In cross-cultural terms, one language may be set up as a standard language for a nation. In terms of intra-cultural framework, one dialect may be set up as a standard as opposed to others.

Garvin and Mathiot (1956), following Havránek (1964), have delimited several types of symbolic and objective functions of a standard language, which may aid us in understanding why language standardization seems to be so inevitable. A standard language, in the first place, may serve a unifying function by linking an individual speaker with a larger community. Whereas the unifying function may unite individual speakers, what is identified as the separatist function opposes the standard language to other languages or varieties as a separate entity, thus potentially serving as a symbol of national identity. Weinreich (1953:100) points out that it is in a situation of language contact that people most easily become aware of the peculiarities of their language as against others, and in this situation the standardized language most readily becomes the symbol of group integrity. There is also a prestige function associated with a standard language. As Garvin and Mathiot observe:

> ...one of the ways of achieving equality with an admired high-prestige nationality is to make one's own language 'as

> good as theirs', which in our terms means bringing it closer to the ideal properties of a standard language (1956:788).

Whereas the previously mentioned functions are symbolic, an objective function served by a standard language is the frame-of-reference function. By providing a codified norm for correctness, speakers can be judged in terms of their conformity to that norm.

Garvin and Mathiot further point out that the functions of a standard language give rise to a set of cultural attitudes toward it. Related to the unifying and separatist functions of a standard language is an attitude of language loyalty; the prestige function produces an attitude of pride; and the frame-of-reference function results in an attitude of awareness of the norm.

Whatever socio-cultural reasons may account for the inevitability of language standardization, this fact must be realistically faced by sociolinguists. Linguists have traditionally objected to the notion of language standardization because of the imposition of prescriptive norms of "correctness" — norms which are opposed to the descriptive framework through which linguists approach language. The basic objection lies in the fact that values of social propriety are misinterpreted as value judgments concerning linguistic adequacy. Despite the philosophical validity of linguists' objections or their ethical preference to eliminate the notion of standard and nonstandard languages, we must realistically concede that the establishment of prescriptive norms for "correct" speech usage is an inevitable by-product of the awareness of social class.[10]

As a concomitant of the above assumption about language, we must also assume that subjective reactions to speech are inevitable. Individuals do not respond to speech differences with objective detachment. Rather, they respond evaluatively based on their reactions (in most cases stereotypic) to the social differences that the language differences imply. One may generally note (but not universally since there may be exceptions) that the speech behavior of a socially stigmatized group will be considered stigmatized while the speech behavior of a socially prestigious group will be considered high-prestige. In essence, when individuals react subjectively to the speech of a particular social group, they are expressing their attitudinal reactions toward the behavioral patterns of that group on the basis of one behavioral manifestation: language! For example, the subjective reactions of middle-class whites to lower-class black speech is,

in reality, a reflection of a much more pervasive attitude toward the behavioral patterns of lower-class black culture. The rejection of the speech of this group must therefore be viewed in the wider context of cultural rejection.

The above paragraph deals with subjective reactions to speech behavior with respect to the interaction of different social groups on a vertical dimension, but it must also be pointed out that subjective reactions toward different types of speech events are also characteristic within a given social group, which constitutes a horizontal dimension. Within the ethnography of speaking, not only the forms of speech but the uses of speech may be viewed evaluatively. What this means is that within a given social group there will be rules for "good and bad manners" with respect to speech usage. Certain types of speech uses will be valued positively and others negatively. For example, rapping in black culture refers to a distinctively fluent and lively way of talking, characterized by a high degree of personal style (see Kochman 1969:27). As a manipulative use of language, it is positively valued. On the other hand, loud-mouthing refers to the use of language in a forceful but non-manipulative way, and generally evokes a pejorative emotive response. In terms of vernacular culture, it is "bad speech manners." We must assume that for each social group there are indigenous values placed on certain uses of speech. It is the realization of a cultural value system with respect to speech that is the basis for subjective reactions to the form, content, and use of speech.

Implicit in several of the above assumptions relevant to linguistic research is the principle that speakers show variation in their linguistic rules based on the social context in which speech occurs. Labov puts it:

> One of the fundamental principles of sociolinguistic investigation might be stated as: there are no single-style speakers. By this we mean that every speaker will show some variation in phonological and syntactic rules according to the immediate context in which he is speaking (1970:13).

In the process of enculturation, speakers not only acquire competence in a linguistic code, but competence in the use of certain variations which are dependent on social context. In contexts determined by some of the factors we mentioned previously, such as the relation of participants, settings, and topic, variations in speech can be expected. To put it another way, we must assume, in the sociolinguistic consideration of language, an "ethnography of speaking" (see Hymes 1962).

To assume that there will be some stylistic range for all individuals does not, however, imply that the same range and competence can be expected from different speakers. Labov notes:

> One must add of course that the stylistic range and competence of the speaker may vary greatly. Children may have a very narrow range in both the choices open to them and the social contexts they respond to. Old men often show a narrow range in that their motivation for style shifting disappears along with their concern for power relationships (1970:13).

Despite the variations in the range of styles between different speakers, it is most reasonable to assume that all speakers who have acquired a language system have also acquired some flexibility in the use of alternative structures within that system.

One may wonder, at this point, how the notion of stylistic variation relates to the distinction between what Bernstein (1964) has called the restricted and elaborated code. Although some have taken this to mean that lower-class speakers are single and middle-class multi-style speakers, one cannot accept this interpretation. A closer look at Bernstein reveals that he is talking about relative not absolute reduction in the alternatives which are open in speech. (This, in fact, is one reason why the notions of restricted and elaborated codes lose their usefulness when trying to experiment with these concepts.) Bernstein maintains:

> ...with a restricted code, the range of alternatives, syntactic alternatives, is considerably reduced and so it is much more likely that prediction is possible. ...In the case of elaborated code, the speech system requires a higher level of verbal planning for the preparation of speech than in the case of restricted code (1964:57).

That a particular social group may be "limited" to a restricted code does not mean that they have only one style of speech. Whatever criticisms one may make of the theoretical and methodological basis of Bernstein's research, it cannot be argued that restricted code refers to uni-style and elaborated to multi-style speakers. What he does say is that a difference in the range of grammatical alternatives may be related to social class; he is thus attempting to give one explanation to account for the observation that there are competencies with respect to stylistic ranges. The verification of this hypothesis, however, is still needed.

In the preceding discussion, we have explicated some of the basic assumptions underlying the behavioral role of language in society. Because assumptions about the behavioral role of language are not as

frequently stated as those relating to language as code, it may well be that more assumptions or qualifications of the preceding assumptions will have to be explicated. What is essential here is the fact that the study of social dialects by linguists is based on two sets of assumptions, one dealing with the structure of the language system and one relating to the structure of society. It is the combination of these assumptions, which in many ways are interrelated, that is the foundation for sociolinguistic research by linguists.

Research Review[11]

Within the discipline of linguistics, the field of dialectology was responsible for the earliest attempts to account for social variation in speech. American dialectologists recognized that social differences had to be considered, even though the primary goal of dialect geography was the correlation of settlement history with regional varieties of English. Kurath, for example, in directing the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada was aware that social differences intersected with settlement history and geographical differences to account for linguistic variation. As reported in the Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England, Linguistic Atlas fieldworkers divided informants into three main types, as follows:

Type I : Little formal education, little reading and restricted social contacts.

Type II : Better formal education (usually high school) and/or wider reading and social contacts.

Type III : Superior education (usually college), cultured background, wide reading and/or extensive social contacts (Kurath 1939:44).

In addition, each of the above types was subdivided as:

Type A : Aged, and/or regarded by the fieldworker as old-fashioned.

Type B : Middle-aged or younger, and/or regarded by the fieldworker as more modern (Kurath 1939:44).

Although different social types were recognized in the work of the Linguistic Atlas several difficulties were apparent because the social parameter was not adequately considered. The social classification of informants was dependent on the fieldworkers' subjective impressions. The vagueness with which the social types were profiled (e.g. "little

reading and restricted social contacts") caused the social classification of informants to be unreliable. Furthermore, no verifiable sociological model for rating the social status of informants was utilized. Education, which seemed to be primary in the evaluation of informants, is only one of the various factors which is used by social scientists in rating social status. Finally, the classification scheme was applied circularly. The criteria for classifying some groups of informants were not based on extra-verbal behavior, but on the dependent variable of language itself.

Whereas the correlation of social with linguistic differences was of secondary concern in the work of the Linguistic Atlas (Kurath 1941, 1949), later interpretation of the Atlas data gave more direct attention to the importance of social factors in accounting for linguistic diversity. Dialectologists, however, still seemed to appeal to the social parameter only when "data proved too complicated to be explained by merely a geographical statement or a statement of settlement history" (McDavid 1948: 194). Thus, McDavid's "Postvocalic -r in South Carolina: A social analysis" (1948) amends a geographical explanation of postvocalic -r in the Piedmont area of South Carolina by analyzing the intersection of social class with geographical differences. As will be seen later, dialectologists continue to work with the social consequences of speech variation, but the methods of "mainstream dialectologists" such as Kurath, McDavid, and Pederson have actually changed very little.

Levine and Crockett (1966) also investigated the variation of postvocalic -r in a Piedmont community, but their analytical method is considerably more refined with respect to sampling and statistics. For one, they were concerned with inter-transcriber and intra-transcriber reliability. Statistical tests were also applied to quantitative results so that the significance of results could be determined technically instead of impressionistically. Finally, there is a comparison of postvocalic -r in two types of style, a word list and a sentence style.

From another perspective, anthropological linguists have made significant contributions to the study of linguistic correlates of social stratification in the last decade. Whereas dialectologists have been satisfied with rough approximations of social divisions to which linguistic phenomena may be related, anthropologists have characteristically been rigorous in their differentiation of social groups to which linguistic variables may

be related. Independent ethnographical description of behavioral patterns characterizing different social strata is required before any correlation of linguistic variables with these strata can be made. Research on the social stratification of linguistic features has been pioneered by Gumperz (1958a, 1958b, 1961, 1964), Hymes (1962, 1964), and Bright (1960, 1966). For example, Gumperz, in several articles (1958a, 1958b), has shown how linguistic variables, particularly phonological variables, relate to the caste systems of India. Southeastern Asia, perhaps because of its rigid stratification between castes, has received the most extensive consideration by anthropological linguists. Anthropological linguists such as Hymes and Gumperz have concerned themselves with developing a structural taxonomy of the factors which must be dealt with from a socio-linguistic perspective of verbal behavior, such as settings, participants, topics, and functions of interaction. Limited consideration has been given to American English by anthropological linguists, although Fischer (1958) provided an analysis of the morphemic variation between the suffixal participle /-ɪŋ/ and /-ɪn/ in English by considering the social background of 24 children in a New England village.

It was Labov's work on the social stratification of English in New York City (1963a, 1963b, 1965a, 1966a, 1966b), more than any other research, that sharpened the theoretical and methodological bases for socio-linguistic research. Using a survey by the Mobilization for Youth as his sociological model, he analyzed the speech of over a hundred randomly selected informants. Five different phonological variables (oh, eh, r, th, dh), isolated in four contextual styles (careful speech, casual speech, reading, word lists) were correlated with the social stratification of the informants. Labov made several major contributions to the study of linguistic correlates of social statification. In the first place, he used sociologically valid procedures in selecting the informants for his sample. Many linguists prior to Labov were largely satisfied with biased non-random informant selection. Also, Labov's quantitative measurement of linguistic variables, although not the first, was considerably more extensive than any previous sociolinguistic research. Further, his effort to isolate contextual styles on the basis of extra-linguistic "channel cues" was a careful attempt to define interview styles in linguistics. The major contribution of Labov was his demonstration that speech differences within a

community, often dismissed by linguists as "free variation", systematically correlated with social differences.

The Detroit Dialect Study (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967), experimented with several different methods of analyzing speech differences. It extended the insights of Labov on the linguistic variable to grammatical as well as phonological variables. An attempt to measure differences by the quantitative measurement of structural types (e.g. clause and phrase types) was also investigated.

Despite a developing sociolinguistic tradition within linguistics over the past several decades, the actual structural description of nonstandard dialects has received little attention.[12] To a certain degree, this lack of attention can be attributed to the attitude that nonstandard speech is less worthy of interest than socially acceptable varieties of English. Another contributing factor for this neglect may have been the assumption that the nonstandard dialects were minimally different in their structure and that when comprehensive studies of standard English were completed, it would be a relatively simple matter to adjust grammatical descriptions to include nonstandard varieties. With respect to Black English, descriptive attention was no doubt delayed by dialectologists who maintained that it was not essentially different from the speech of Southern whites of comparable socio-economic levels. As an example of such a view, note Kurath's conclusions from his work on the Linguistic Atlas:

> By and large the Southern Negro speaks the language of the white man of his locality or area and of his education.... As far as the speech of the uneducated Negroes is concerned, it differs little from that of the illiterate white; that is, it exhibits the same regional and local variations as that of the simple white folk (1949:6).

Stewart (1965:13) observes that the structural neglect of Black English may also have been related to concern for the feelings of Negroes:

> As this [the study of Black English] relates to the speech of Negroes, it has been reinforced by a commendable desire to emphasize the potential of the Negro to be identical with white Americans and accordingly to deemphasize any current behavioral patterns which might not seem to contribute directly to that goal... respect for the feelings of Negroes themselves has probably played a part in discouraging the study of Negro speech. For, as is quite understandable, many Negroes (particularly educated ones) are somewhat sensitive about any public focus on distinctively Negro behavior, particularly if it happens to be that of lower class Negroes.

Whatever the reasons may have been, only in the last few years has the study of Black English been seriously undertaken. Although there are several current research projects on the linguistic structure of Black English, by comparison, there are still only a limited number of linguists who have taken an interest in this area.

Stewart (1964, 1967, 1968) and Bailey (1965) probably did most to turn the attention of linguists to the study of Black English, partly because their work on this dialect chronologically preceded other linguists and partly because of their dogmatic rejection of the dialectological treatment of ethnic differences in speech. Coming from creolist backgrounds, both Bailey and Stewart maintained that Black English was not identical to the speech of Southern whites of a comparable socio-economic class, but significantly different. Bailey, for example, noted:

> I would like to suggest that the Southern Negro "dialect" differs from other Southern speech because its deep structure is different, having its origins as it undoubtedly does in some Proto-Creole grammatical structure (1965:172).

Obviously, such a position comes into sharp conflict with the traditional position suggested by a number of American dialectologists. What then, can account for this sharp difference of opinion? One explanation is that dialectologists have focused their attention on the similarities between nonstandard Negro dialects and white dialects, whereas creolists have focused on the differences between these two varieties of English. Dialectologists have been largely occupied with phonological and lexical differences, the levels on which the dialects are nearly (but not completely) alike. Creolists, on the other hand, have concerned themselves with subtle differences in grammatical categories. Stewart has mainly concentrated on the historical relations of Black English to what he considers a creole origin. He notes:

> Of those Africans who fell victim to the Atlantic slave trade and were brought to the New World, many found it necessary to learn some kind of English. With very few exceptions, the form of English which they acquired was a pidginized one, and this kind of English became so well-established as the principal medium of communication between Negro slaves in the British colonies that it was passed on as a creole language to succeeding generations of the New World Negroes, for whom it was their native tongue (1967:22).

Present-day Negro dialect, according to Stewart, has resulted from a process which he labels "decreolization" (i.e. the loss of creole features).

Through contact with the British-derived dialects the creole variety of English spoken by Negroes merged with other dialects of English. The merging process, however, was neither instantaneous nor complete. Stewart asserts:

> Indeed, the nonstandard speech of present-day American Negroes still seems to exhibit structural traces of a creole predecessor, and this is probably a reason why it is in some ways more deviant from standard English than is the non-standard speech of even the most uneducated American whites (1968:3).

Stewart substantiates his claim that Negro dialects are derived from a widespread slave creole by examining the close relationship which is found between 18th and 19th century Negro dialect and other New World creoles (Stewart 1967). His source for the study of 18th and 19th century Negro dialect is the representations of Negro dialect used in the literary works of this period. Although this may seem like an unreliable source, Stewart's knowledge of the literary records of Negro dialect during this period and his apparent ability to evaluate the reliability of the various authors makes his historical documentation quite plausible. Furthermore, Stewart's familiarity with a number of different creoles, including Gullah and the Caribbean creoles, lends credibility to statements he makes concerning the relations of various Black English structures to a creole predecessor. Although Stewart's knowledge of Black English is not disputed, several points he makes do not appear to be as clear-cut as he asserts. For one, his approach to analysis concentrates on particular items rather than a holistic approach to the structure of Black English. An attempt to assemble a comprehensive inventory of differences between Southern whites and Negroes of comparable socio-economic classes may lead one to a considerably smaller list than claimed.

Furthermore, the origins of some of the items would certainly be disputed by dialectologists. Others might be disputed on empirical grounds. For example, Stewart observes that implosive stops, which he claims are quite easy for the trained phonetician to perceive are unique to the Black English speaker. But there are some linguists who would claim that the American English stop can sometimes be implosive. Furthermore, I know of several competent phoneticians who agree that both Black and white speakers use implosives. At any rate, the issue is not nearly as clear-cut as Stewart makes it out to be.

Finally, Stewart emphasizes differences between Black English and standard English as opposed to similarities. This in itself may be justified since it is the differences which cause interference between dialects. It must be pointed out, however, that the inventory of differences is much smaller than the inventory of similarities. In addition, the clear majority of differences seem to be on a surface rather than an underlying level (see, e.g. Labov, et al 1968). An expansive list is lacking, either because the list is simply not as exhaustive as suggested or because descriptive data are still lacking.

From a purely descriptive viewpoint there are several current projects which merit attention. Probably the most radical of these is offered by Loflin (1967b, 1969a) of the Center for Research in Social Behavior at the University of Missouri. Loflin considers the differences between standard English and Black English to be of such significance that Black English be treated as a foreign language. He observes:

> Efforts to construct a grammar for Nonstandard Negro English suggest that the similarities between it and Standard English are superficial. There is every reason, at this stage of research to believe that a fuller description of Nonstandard Negro English will show a grammatical system which must be treated as a foreign language (1967a:1312).

In justification of his treatment of Black English as a significantly different system (i.e. different in its underlying structure) from standard English, he has described the verb system.[13] He concludes that aspect dominates over tense in Black English, whereas the opposite is true for standard English. A careful look at his description reveals that it must be challenged both on empircal and theoretical grounds. For example, one of the basic justifications for his description of the verb system of Black English is the absence of the auxiliary _have_ in the text of his _single_ informant; empirical investigation of the staff at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, Labov in New York, and Wolfram in Detroit clearly reveals the underlying presence of _have_ (although it may be deleted by a low level phonological rule). In fact, one of the striking things about Black English seems to be the frequent use of the past form of this construction in narrative discourse (e.g. _He had came to the store_).

Other parts of Loflin's analysis of the verbal system reveal a neglect of the overall patterning of Black English. Thus, for example, the clear evidence that a phonological pattern is responsible for the absence of most

past tense -ed suffixes is overlooked (see, e.g. Wolfram 1969:71-74). Although Loflin's work certainly shows a high degree of creativity, his general approach and specific description of the Black English verb system can hardly be considered valid.

A somewhat different attempt to describe the linguistic structure of Child Black English in Florida is offered by Houston (1969). A number of informal phonological rules are given, but no grammatical rules since, according to Houston, "only four major syntactic differences between Child Black and standard White English have appeared" (1969:606). To those linguists seriously attempting to describe the structure of Black English, Houston's description shows descriptive and observational inadequacies. From a theoretical standpoint, her approach to the description of Black English cannot be considered acceptable from any current taxonomic or generative standpoint. Her rules are, by her own admission, nothing more than a set of correspondences which relate Child Black English to White Standard English, yet she sets up her correspondences in the form of processes so that they have the form of pseudo-rewrite rules. Her justification for this curious device is "convenience," hardly a sufficient reason for the theoretical or descriptive linguist. In essence, what she does is derive surface forms in Black English from surface forms in standard White English. The rules are even given as ordered, yet any descriptive linguist can see that they are not "ordered" in the sense that this concept is used from any standpoint in linguistics.

Some of the rules she gives also lack formal motivation. Although she mentions general postulates which govern the treatment of phenomena as phonological instead of grammatical ("their relative generality in the language as a whole, and the importance of the grammatical claims" 1969: 603), some of the rules she treats as phonological can be seriously disputed. Why, for example, is the third person singular -Z a phonological rule rather than a grammatical rule? Third person singular -Z affects all verbs, not only those involving consonant clusters (e.g. it affects boos as well as dreams). Yet, formal motivation for the correspondence is lacking so that the rules appear to simply be ad hoc. Some of the rules which are given, furthermore, do not describe the data which they presumably are supposed to account for. Thus, as the rule for consonant cluster reduction is formally stated ($XVC_1 + C_2$ # XVC_1 #, where X may be

zero, C = any consonant, and + is morpheme boundary), it can account only for bimorphemic clusters. This means it can account for guessed being realized as /gɛs/, but not a monomorphemic cluster like guest, which is realized as /gɛs/. Such apparent oversights are, unfortunately, characteristic of the rules.

Finally, some of the empirical data she displays are suspect. Stewart, Labov, and the staff at the Center for Applied Linguistics working with Black English would all dispute some of her observed data. Even if she treats a number of apparently grammatical phenomena as phonological, she does not mention differences in verbal paradigms, modals, person agreement, existential it, pleonastic forms other than pronominal apposition, etc. In the light of these theoretical and empirical inadequacies, Houston's study cannot be considered as an observationally and descriptively adequate account of the structure of Black English from a linguistic perspective.

The research of Labov and associates (1965, 1968) on the structure of the nonstandard speech of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York is the single most exhaustive study of a nonstandard speech community available.[14] Having already cited contributions that Labov made to sociolinguistics in his study of the overall population of New York City, we must again cite a number of significant sociolinguistic innovations in his Harlem research. In the first place, his study of language in the setting of an adolescent peer group broke with the individual interview method. Furthermore, he has described both the functional and structural aspects of the nonstandard vernacular. The structural description of Black English included more features of the phonology and grammar of Black English in detail than any other single description. In addition to Labov's creative innovations in field methods and his comprehensive sociolinguistic description of Black English, he has carefully examined the implications that his research has for theoretical linguistics. Based on his elicitation of peer group speech in a relatively spontaneous setting, he has observed that many of the variants associated with Black English must be considered "inherently variable" with more standard-like variants. That is, fluctuation between many variants seems to be inherent to the vernacular structure and not simply an "importation" from a superimposed variety.[15] Evidence for this is found in the systematic ways in which certain types of fluctuation seem to operate within the most indigenous speech situation.

Labov points out that independent linguistic as well as social variables must be considered in describing the systematic variation of forms. The correlation of sociological with linguistic variables to account for fluctuation between forms has become well-established within the last decade of sociolinguistic research. But the notion of systematic variation as a function of independent linguistic variables has not been considered seriously. The fact that linguistic environment can greatly affect the variability of items has some important implications for the concept of "optionality" in linguistics. The limitation of linguistics to qualitative, discrete units has somehow precluded any affect that linguistic environment may have on variability. This is not to say that a statement of the relevant environments in which so-called "free variation" took place was not a requisite for adequate linguistic description. But the recognition that certain environments may affect the occurrence of a given variant much more than others was characteristically absent. Yet, the variables described by Labov and others (see, e.g. Wolfram 1969) show that certain types of linguistic environments intersect with extra-linguistic factors to account for variation between forms. Labov, therefore, has suggested that the notion of linguistic and non-linguistic constraints be incorporated into the formal representation of a linguistic rule. He has thus proposed what he calls the variable rule (1968:24). By introducing the variable rule, Labov attempts to formally incorporate the constraints (linguistic and non-linguistic) which directly affect the variability of items. To achieve this end, Labov suggests that "we associate with each variable rule a specific quantity which denotes the proportion of cases in which the rule applies as part of the rule structure itself" (1968:25). The value of a variable rule is defined as a function of the constraints which limit the categorical operation of the rule. This may be represented as:

$$f = 1 - (a + b + c + \ldots n)$$

where f = the frequency of application, 1 the categorical operation of a rule, and a, b, c, $\ldots n$ the various constraints limiting categorical rule application (i.e. the variable input). The constraints are "ranked" in the sense that certain linguistic environments clearly outweigh others in their effect on variability (e.g. $a > b > c > \ldots n$).

Labov's careful examination of the Black English system is by far the

most detailed in many areas although the description of certain features will certainly not find unanimous agreement (see, e.g. Wolfram 1969:192-194). His incorporation of the variable rule into a formal grammar will, no doubt, stir up considerable disagreement among linguists. The controversy over the rule does not concern its observational adequacy, but whether this can and should be included in the formal description of a grammar. Is this rule simply part of a "performance" model, and, as such, irrelevant to the descriptive adequacy of a grammar, or is this an integral part of language "competence"? The quantitative figures which can be assigned to various constraints would seem to be part of a performance model, but the regular and hierarchical effect of various linguistic constraints on variability cannot be dismissed quite as readily. This is, no doubt, an issue that is destined to be of considerable importance for theoretical linguistics.

The research undertaken by the Sociolinguistics Program of the Center for Applied Linguistics deals both with the linguistic correlates of stratification in the Negro community and the structural description of Black English. Data from several different locations are being analyzed, including Washington, D.C., Detroit, Michigan, and more recently, Holmes County, Mississippi. Wolfram's study of the Detroit Negro population demonstrates how several classes of Negroes are differentiated on the basis of grammatical and phonological variables. The role of social status, sex, age, and racial isolation are all shown to correlate with linguistic differences. In addition, the extent to which the social differentiation between linguistic variables is quantitative or qualitative, the relation between social, diagnostic, phonological and grammatical variables and the effect of independent linguistic constraints on variability are examined.

The investigation of phonological and grammatical variables reveals that the phonological differences between social groups tend to be quantitative whereas the grammatical differences are often qualitative. Three of the four phonological variables (word-final consonant clusters ending in a stop, syllable-final _d_, and postvocalic _r_) indicate that the social groups are differentiated primarily on the basis of the relative frequency of variants. Only the _θ_ variable, which shows the categorical absence of the _f_ variant in middle-class speech, indicates a qualitative difference

between social groups. On the other hand, all four grammatical variables (multiple negation, suffixal -Z, copula absence, and invariant be) reveal the categorical absence of certain variants among middle-class informants.

By introducing the concepts of "sharp" (i.e. a significant difference in the frequency of particular variants between contiguous social groups) and "gradient" (i.e. a progressive difference in the frequency of particular variants between social groups) an important difference in the way phonological and grammatical variables stratify the population can be observed. Grammatical variables usually show sharp stratification, whereas phonological variables show gradient stratification. All the grammatical variables investigated in the study reveal sharp stratification, whereas three of the four phonological variables indicate gradient stratification.

Finally, Wolfram's research demonstrates that it is impossible to arrive at an adequate understanding of the nature of sociolinguistic variation without considering the effects of independent linguistic constraints. In accounting for frequency differences among variants it is essential to consider the effect of linguistic environment as well as social variables.

Wolfram's work reinforces many of the conclusions that Labov has independently come to in his research in New York, suggesting that there is considerable uniformity in the patterning of Black English in large Northern metropolitan areas. Wolfram's limited sample (48 informants), however, needs extension, particularly in order to validate his conclusions about age, sex, and racial isolation. Statistical sophistication is also lacking in some of his conclusions based on quantitative differences. Finally, the functional reasons for certain types of differences, although important, are not examined. For example, do males and females speak differently due to different types of interaction that males and females have with the socially superordinate white community (e.g. female domestics working in close contact with middle-class white females), or are sex differences in speech due to an indigenous behavioral characteristic of the Negro community (e.g. the use of socially stigmatized forms is a symbol of masculinity)?

Fasold's research in Washington, D.C. currently includes a study of the social stratification of speech in the Negro community and the structural description of various features of Black English. Recently Fasold

(1970) has explicated one of the crucial issues for the representation of sociolinguistic information from a linguistic perspective, namely, "implicational analysis", "frequency analysis" or a combination of the two. The former approach deals with the implication of the presence of certain socially diagnostic linguistic features for the presence/absence of others (cf. DeCamp 1969); frequency analysis involves the variability of linguistic features as they relate to social class (cf. Labov et al 1968), and the combination of the two approaches uses the statistical method of "factor analysis" to deal both with the frequency of occurrence and the co-occurrence restrictions of variants (cf. Ma and Herosimchuk 1968). In investigating these various approaches, Fasold suggests that the more adequate approach is probably the one that can most readily incorporate the insights of the other. He concludes that frequency analysis can incorporate the insights of implicational analysis by simply including an "invariance category," whereas implicational analysis must arbitrarily assign any observed variability between features into binary categories. He submits that the third approach, that of combining implicational and frequency approaches via factor analysis is the least revealing because it only leads to groupings that already are obvious. Also, there is no apparent way to incorporate factor analysis into linguistic theory. It appears, however, that Fasold has dismissed the third alternative too lightly. Theoretically, it holds the potential to reveal less than obvious continuum sets, and to validate apparent groupings. If it then proves to be valid, it is the task of linguistic theory to incorporate this concept.

Another important area currently being investigated by Roger Shuy and colleagues is that of the relation between white southern and Negro speech of comparable socio-economic classes, based on data from Holmes County, Mississippi. Although still at a preliminary stage of analysis, it is hoped that these data will reveal concrete answers to the controversy of Negro/white speech differences in the deep South.

One recent study of Negro speech in the South has been conducted by Anshen (1969). Following up an earlier study of the sociolinguistic parameters of a Piedmont community by Levine and Crockett (cf. p. 103), Anshen investigated four phonological variables of the Negro community in Hillsborough, North Carolina: ing, postvocalic r, word-initial dh and th.

Several major conclusions are arrived at. First, it is shown that there are regular patterns of sociolinguistic variation typical of patterns found in other communities. Thus, the higher the education (but not necessarily the occupation, because of the job opportunities for Negroes in the South) the more standard-like the speech; females tend to approximate standard English norms more than males; older speakers are generally more standard in their speech than younger ones; stylistic changes result in changes in the frequencies of variants. Comparing some of his data with that of the white community studied by Levine and Crockett, Anshen also concludes that the frequency differences between scores for Negroes and whites in this area suggest that these two groups of speakers speak different varieties of English. However, since Anshen was limited to the study of variables which have social significance for the general American population his arguments are based only on quantitative evidence. A much stronger argument for different speech varieties could be made if qualitative differences were brought out.

Several recent dissertations from the University of California at Berkeley have dealt with selected aspects of Black English. Henrie (1969) has studied the verb phrases of three lower-class black kindergarten children and compared them with two middle-class white children as a "control" group. One of the innovative aspects of Henrie's study was his technique for eliciting speech. First, he carefully constructed a number of stories of 5-15 sentences which contained all the verb phrase forms and distribution of semantic qualities of interest. Each sentence of the story, given in standard English, was accompanied by a corresponding illustration, and these illustrations were shown to the children as the sentences were taught them. Subsequently, they retold the stories and, according to Henrie, this resulted in the production of the child's own habitual speech patterns while meaning was held constant by the stories and accompanying illustrations.

The data were therefore ordered in two ways. Holding the semantic features constant, each form could be listed first as it appeared in the input story, then as it was produced by the standard English control subjects, and finally as it was produced by the Black English speaking subjects. Holding major verb phrase forms constant, the various semantic combinations attached to each was tabulated and a dominant meaning of each

Black English form could be derived. The classification and ordering of data made it possible to (1) describe Black English translation equivalents for standard English verb phrase forms and the range of possible meanings for Black English forms, (2) discover whether Black English forms vary systematically in meaning from each other and/or standard English forms, and (3) separate Black English forms specific to Black English from those which are simply age-related forms.

The fluctuation between standard English and Black English-like forms that Henrie finds among his lower-class black informants matches other quantitative studies of the speech of lower-class blacks. The correlation of verb forms with semantic contexts also parallels other studies of Black English with several important exceptions. One such exception shows up in his analysis of "unconjugated be". He suggests that the meaning of be (that is, those instances of be not derived from underlying will or would be) is not necessarily limited to an habitual type of activity, as has sometimes been maintained (e.g. Fasold 1969; Stewart 1967; Wolfram 1969). Another exception involves the absence of third person, singular present-tense -Z (e.g. He do). Whereas the analysis of Labov et al (1968) and Wolfram (1969) maintain that there is no deep structure difference relating to the absence of -Z, Henrie raises this possibility. Some of the apparent exceptions brought out by Henrie might be due to the fact that semantic context is difficult to control even given the rigorous elicitation techniques he has developed. If the sentences which "were taught to them" actually resulted in the production of "the child's own habitual speech patterns", we must ask to what extent we can assume the constancy of meaning.

Another Berkeley dissertation by Claudia Mitchell Kernan (1969) describes a number of features of Black English, based primarily on the speech of two adult female informants. Although this description is useful in observing the similarities between Black English in different geographical regions, the actual linguistic description does not go into the qualitative or quantitative detail that some of the other descriptions go into. A major focus of Kernan's study, however, is the attempt to give an ethnographic description of several ritualistic types of speech acts, including signifying, marking, and loud-talking. She offers some useful observations on the function of these speech acts within the vernacular community.

McKay (1969) offers a quite extensive description of several selected features of Black English based on the speech of an elderly Negro lady originally from Louisiana. The structures dealt with include negative sentences, relative clauses, existential sentences, direct questions, embedded questions and indirect discourse. An important aspect of McKay's study is the formalization of the standard English rules (in terms of generative transformational grammar) and the comparison of these rules with the rules that are needed to generate a grammar for her informant. With respect to the comparison of rules, she concluded that the two varieties share the same phrase structure rules, differing mainly with respect to certain types of transformational rules. The Black English grammar contains many more deletion rules.

Since McKay's analysis is restricted to unstructured informal conversations with her informant, there are gaps in the data with respect to some of the crucial aspects of her analysis. For example, in her discussion of negatives, she concludes that there are no sentences containing only a negated indefinite subject and a negated post-auxiliary indefinite. This means that a sentence such as Nobody saw her no more is ungrammatical, Nobody didn't see her no more being the expected Black English sentence. But we do not know if the ungrammaticality of the former sentence is due to a gap in the data (which is what we may suspect on the basis of other analyses of Black English) or genuinely reflective of underlying competence. Since there is no attempt at eliciting some of the crucial structures for writing the rules, some of the conclusions must be very tenuous. Nonetheless, McKay's study is a significant attempt to formalize some of the rules of Black English vis-a-vis the rules of standard English.

Although the above mentioned studies describe current major research dealing with the study of nonstandard dialects in the United States, there are several other studies that can be mentioned briefly. We have already mentioned the early attempts of American dialectologists to deal with social factors in linguistic diversity within linguistics. The more recent work of McDavid and Austin (1967), Pederson (1965) and Williamson (1961) indicates a continued interest in this area. However, retention of Linguistic Atlas techniques, now superseded by more sophisticated sociological and anthropological techniques, places such research at a serious disadvantage.

The continued emphasis on lexical items and phonology preclude a comprehensive structural description of a nonstandard grammar. Current studies of social dialects by dialectologists have also neglected the systematic nature of variation that quantitative studies of variability reveal. Furthermore, the apparent disinterest in the implications of such research for linguistic theory does not coincide with the direction of current sociolinguistic studies.

There are also several projects which can only be mentioned briefly because of their incipient nature. Fraser and colleagues at the Language Research Foundation are presently beginning the description of Child Black English in New York City, employing the most current insights of theoretical linguistics. Fieldwork in this project, however, has just begun.

The sociolinguistics aspect (there is also a pedogogical aspect) of the study by Legum, Williams and associates (1968), under the auspices of the Southwest Regional Laboratory at Inglewood is presently conducting interviews with child peer groups in Watts. At this stage, only the statement of the theoretical linguistic and sociolinguistic foundations of their research is available and these are derived mainly from Labov's research.

Finally, the East Texas Dialect Project, directed by Galvan and Troike at the University of Texas (1969), has conducted interviews with over 200 informants in five communities in East Texas, representing different races, several socio-economic levels, and various age groups. The interview involved the elicitation of free conversation between a fieldworker and two informants. Preliminary exploration has resulted in the isolation of a number of different phonological and grammatical variables for analysis, and the frequency of socially significant variants is now being analyzed.

Suggestions for Research

On the basis of our previous discussion of research projects, it should be apparent that some aspects of social dialects are being studied thoroughly while others are neglected. It is therefore the purpose of this section to summarize areas which have been investigated adequately and to suggest the direction that future research might take.[16] These can

conveniently be discussed in terms of three main areas: (1) field techniques, (2) descriptive studies, and (3) theoretical issues.

1. Field techniques. As was seen in the preceding section, sociolinguistic field procedures have changed within the last several years. We now see that the design of fieldwork and sampling procedures can give a reliable representation of the sociolinguistic parameters of a community (see, for example, Labov 1966a, Chapter 6, or Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1968, Chapter 2). Current interview procedures have also developed along the lines of social science standards of interviewing (see Labov 1966a, Chapter 5, or Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1968, Chapters 5-7, or Slobin 1967) so that many of the criticisms of Pickford (1956) concerning the inadequacy of the Linguistic Atlas fieldwork design are no longer applicable to current sociolinguistic research. Furthermore, elicitation procedures, particularly as related to stylistic variation, have made significant advances following the insights of Labov and associates (1966a, 1968).

There are, however, several areas in which further refinement of research design can add to the validity and reliability of sociolinguistic studies. With respect to sampling, we are still not certain of the most efficient size for a reliable study of social dialects. What, for example, is the minimal number of informants in each social "cell" for the linguist to adequately characterize the linguistic behavior of that cell? It appears that linguistic behavior is more uniform than some other types of behavior investigated by sociologists so that we can conceivably achieve reliability using a smaller sample than other types of sociological surveys. Also, because of the detailed nature of certain types of linguistic analysis, it is impractical to work with samples the size of some sociological surveys. But we still do not know what constitutes a minimally adequate representation for the study of social dialects. One way of getting at such information would be to take a reasonably large sample such as the Detroit Dialect Study (which included over 700 interviews) and compare several linguistic features using different sizes of subsamples within the large study to establish a minimal standard for a reliable sample. Information of this type could determine the most efficient size of future social dialect surveys.

Another area where we lack adequate information concerns the role of

the fieldworker in influencing the speech of informants. We suspect that the race, sex, or social class of the interviewer might be important conditioning factors with respect to speech, and there are several studies which show such factors to correlate with speech variation (e.g. Anshen 1969). But we still need an exhaustive study of the relative importance of the social characteristics of the interviewer. For example, is the correlation between the race of the interviewer and the informant's speech variation simply a function of race, or is it actually more related to a person's ability to identify with the social class of the informant, or, is it a combination of these? And, if such correlations exist, do they affect all socially diagnostic linguistic variables or only those on a more conscious level? These are questions about the interview which will suggest the relative importance of controlling interviewer variables.

One area of top priority for field techniques is the establishment of elicitation procedures which can get at judgments of the grammaticality of nonstandard structures apart from judgments about social acceptability. The linguist's usual procedure is to obtain a language sample in order to determine the rules of the grammar and then directly ask the native informant whether or not certain grammatical contrasts that he reconstructs from his rules are indeed significant in his language (i.e. can they be generated by the rules of his grammar?). This same procedure, however, cannot be used in dealing with the grammaticality of nonstandard sentences, since it is virtually impossible to get such judgments isolated from social notions of acceptability (i.e. the Miss Fiditch notion of "correctness"). Thus, for example, if a linguist were to ask a Black English informant if a sentence such as Didn't nobody do nothing were acceptable, he is liable to have the informant reject the sentence. But we cannot be sure if the informant rejected the sentence because it is not part of his competence or because of the social stigmatization of the sentence. Ideally, this might be overcome by a linguistically sophisticated native speaker of Black English. However, in my experience, most linguistically sophisticated speakers of Black English have also acquired standard English, and, in doing so, have invariably lost sensitivity to the grammatical boundaries of the Black English vernacular, which are so important in establishing underlying competence. It is therefore imperative that we develop methods by which we can get at the generative capacity of the Black English grammar

rules. In order to do so, we must take advantage of more indirect ways of getting at competence. One important way may be through the development of different types of "word games." For example, Fasold has been experimenting with a sentence completion technique in which the informant is given a stimulus sentence and asked to respond to the sentence on the basis of a pattern which will determine whether or not the given feature is present in the underlying structure. To illustrate, consider whether or not the underlying auxiliary have is an integral part of the Black English grammatical system. The informant is given a sentence such as They been there a long time, and asked to respond to this sentence by completing the response I know they _____. If the informant responds by completing the sentence with have, we may be assured that there is an underlying have; however, if he responds by using another auxiliary such as did, then he probably does not have the underlying auxiliary have. The establishment of such indirect techniques to get at competence is important for future structural descriptions of the nonstandard grammatical systems. Of course, one must be careful to use stimuli sentences and patterns which are indigenous to the dialect; this makes familiarity with the dialect a prerequisite. In developing procedures of this type, linguistic fieldwork can probably profit mostly from elicitation techniques for children (see Slobin 1967; Menyuk 1969, Chapter 4) at various acquisitional levels, but other new techniques will also have to be established.

Finally, the linguist interested in the social parameters of language is still uncertain about the importance of statistical calculations in comparing the various quantitative measurements that are made. Both Labov et al (1968) and Wolfram (1969) rely heavily on quantitative evidence, but neither uses tests to determine the statistical significance of their quantitative differences. Linguists, because of a tradition of qualitative analysis, tend to ignore statistical calculations. In justification we may say that some of the quantitative differences are so prominent that statistical calculations are hardly needed. In other cases, it is the establishment of the general direction of different frequency scores that is more important than the significance between specific figures. Furthermore, the linguist might claim that his data are far more regular and reproducable than the type of data sociologists are used to analyzing via statistics. But we may be arguing from naiveté. At any rate, the relative

importance of statistics for sociolinguistic study is an area which needs careful research and explication. We must know in what areas statistical calculations are expedient, what areas they are questionable and what areas they are inapplicable.

2. Descriptive studies. As we noted in our description of current research projects, there are several aspects of social dialects in the United States which have occupied the attention of linguists. Corresponding to the popular focus on Negroes in the inner city, we have witnessed a number of attempts to describe the grammatical and phonological structure of Black English, varying greatly in quality. Research in New York, Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Watts seems to give adequate representation of this dialect in the large urban areas, especially because of the apparent similarity in the structure of Black English in these areas. This is not to say that there are no regional differences, but the overall structure of the dialect shows striking similarities in these different locations. There are, of course, aspects of the dialect which have not been covered in detail, but the major features of the dialect can be derived by looking at the various studies. One descriptive aspect which has not been covered in any of these studies is intonation, yet most linguists agree that there are substantial intonational differences between Black English and other varieties of English.

The correlation of social class with linguistic variables in large urban areas is also receiving an increasing amount of attention. The relationship of various parameters of social class have or are currently being described for New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Fort Wayne, so that we are obtaining a representative number of studies on language and social class.

There are, however, still a number of areas which have received little or no attention. In the preceding paragraph one can note that the majority of studies of Black English focus on large Northern areas. We need adequate descriptive studies of Black English in both the rural and urban South. Such studies must be the first step in comparing the linguistic assimilation that takes place when mass migration occurs, as it did during the last fifty years among the Negro population. Are Southern and Northern varieties of Black English essentially alike, and, if not, in what ways do they differ? Only comprehensive studies of the structure of Black English

in selected areas of the South can answer this question. Such studies should preferably be selected to represent different areas of the South, including the coastal, central inland, and deep South.

In addition to the description of Black English in the South, we also need comprehensive descriptive studies of nonstandard Southern white dialects. Although dialectologists have given us some indication of the phonology and lexicon of Southern white speech, the grammatical structure is lacking. As was suggested for the study of Black English in the South, several areas should be included, representing Appalachia, the deep South, and Atlantic coast regions. Descriptive studies of this type can help us resolve the controversy over the exact relationship between the speech of Southern whites and Negroes of comparable socio-economic classes.

Descriptions of the correlation of social and linguistic variables have focused on Northern metropolitan areas. But there are important reasons why these should be extended to cover several areas of the South. Some Southern regional features have apparently only taken on social significance in the North because of their association with ethnicity and social class in the North. By contrast, there are other features which have social significance regardless of the geographical region in the United States (a distinction I have called "general" and "particular" social significance). Careful studies of the social significance of linguistic variables in the South can help us sharpen our understanding of the interaction of geographical and social factors in speech. Furthermore, such studies can lead us to general conclusions about the nature of sociolinguistic variation in the United States.

Another area of great importance for descriptive studies is that of age-grading. The importance of observing age levels in speech variation was brought out by Hockett (1950) some time ago but the actual amount of descriptive study has been sparse. Recently Stewart (1968) and Dillard (1967) have suggested that an accurate picture of the nature of Black English cannot be studied apart from a description of age-grading within the Black community. Loban's (1966) longitudinal study of children in California hints at crucial age differences, but his taxonomy and linguistic orientation would be unacceptable from the viewpoint of the linguist.

Studies of age-grading should not be confused with the description of language acquisition, which is an area for descriptive studies in its

own right. Age-grade studies should start with the earliest post-acquisitional period (6-8). The age level when sensitivity to the social consequences of speech behavior starts to approximate adult norms (according to Labov (1965b) about age 14 or 15) is of extreme importance for the linguist.

The speech of teen-agers is, of course, simply one aspect of their behavioral response to the adult world which can give us invaluable information. Such studies, though, cannot be separated from peer group norms, so that such studies must concentrate on peer groups.

Acquisitional studies of nonstandard dialects are also needed for cross-cultural investigation. But such studies must be related to nonstandard norms, a condition which some acquisitional studies have not observed.[17] For example, the acquisition of f and θ by speakers of Black English must be related to the function of these units within the vernacular (e.g. /f/ in final position being the Black English adult norm). To do otherwise can only lead to some of the fallacious conclusions that we have already discussed in this report. This is not to say that a comparative study of nonstandard speech patterns and certain stages of acquisition for standard English speakers should not be undertaken. In fact, we need such studies to show us the ways in which nonstandard dialects are similar and different from certain stages in language acquisition. For example, we observe that copula absence occurs in Black English and also at a certain stage of language acquisition for all children, or we observe that the f/θ contrast, one of the last phonological contrasts to be acquired by standard English speakers, is characteristic of Black English in certain positions. We need to know in precisely what ways these features function similarly and in what ways differently. Such studies must serve as the basis for disputing claims that there is a relationship between Black English and retarded standard English language acquisition.

Finally, we need more data on the role of sex in language. Most laymen will readily admit to differences in speech related to sex, but few comprehensive studies have dealt with the topic (perhaps due to our failure to view the familiar as unfamiliar). The studies by Fisher (1958), Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1967), Labov (1966a) and Wolfram (1969) give evidence that this is a fruitful area for descriptive studies in the United States, but we need several exhaustive analyses showing us the exact ways in which

sex differentiation conditions speech behavior across different social groups.

3. Theoretical issues. Although the explication of theoretical issues is inevitably related to descriptive studies, we may cautiously isolate several outstanding issues which current research on social dialects raises for the linguist. There are, of course, many issues being raised for sociologists (e.g. the discreteness of social classes, definition of social roles, etc.) and/or anthropologists, but in this discussion we shall limit ourselves to those problems which deal with central issues in theoretical linguistics.

Perhaps the outstanding problem for the linguist dealing with sociolinguistic variation in language is the way in which observed linguistic variation can be accounted for in a linguistic model of description. Linguistic models of language description are all based on discrete oppositions as opposed to gradience or probability. The question, then, is, do we adopt linguistic models to account for systematic variation (i.e. variation conditioned by social or independent linguistic variables), do we "manipulate" the data in such a way as to fit into the existing framework of linguistic descriptions, or do we describe it apart from any descriptive model of language competence — a particular type of performance model?

Labov has suggested that regular and uniform structuring of variation is an integral part of language competence whereas DeCamp (1969:1) has insisted that Labov's gradience is an empirical observation of superficial phenomena which can be accounted for by a "combination of discrete oppositions (cf. Fourier analysis of wave phenomena) followed by curve smoothing." Despite DeCamp's dismissal of Labov's contention, one must recognize the potential that Labov's variable rule has for linguistic descriptions. Further experimentation with this concept has important implications for the assumption of categoricality in current linguistic models. With reference to current models, we must also ask if there is one current generative model (e.g. transformational versus stratificational) in which gradience can be incorporated more economically than another. Such a question may give us some indication of the explanatory adequacy of grammatical descriptions. We must also investigate to what extent descriptive models might account for other types of structured social factors con-

ditioning language choice. Can we, for example, expect and/or demand that a linguistic model incorporate context-sensitive rules whose environment is stated in terms of extra-linguistic factors. Such types of questions that are raised by sociolinguistic investigations can cause the linguist to reexamine his assumptions concerning language as CODE and BEHAVIOR.

Another area in which current sociolinguistic research may affect theoretical models of language description concerns the extent to which a description can encompass more than an idiolect. The traditional approach of the linguist is to describe the linguistic competence of a single speaker as representative of a given variety of the language. Certain attempts to account for dialect differences by the incorporation of "correspondence" type formalization have been tried (e.g. Cochrane's attempt to formalize Weinreich's diasystem (1959), but their focus on surface realizations make such attempts descriptively inadequate.

Recently, in the work of C.J.N. Bailey (1969a and b), a more rigorous attempt has been made to account for different varieties of a language from a generative point of view. Bailey has proposed that it is possible to give one underlying representation for all dialects of a given language, the difference between dialects being manifested in the applicability/non-applicability of certain rules. Bailey's "pandialectal" grammar would have rules in their least general form and their marked order, since the more general forms and the unmarked order could be predicted from the other. The first question we must investigate is the feasibility of such an approach for social dialects. And, if such an approach is justifiable, what about varieties of English where different underlying structures would be motivated on independent grounds? Does one sacrifice independent motivation for "overall" descriptive adequacy or are such varieties de facto excluded as different languages? Ultimately, future descriptive statements of social dialects which deal with this matter can give the linguist information about the nature of dialect differences with respect to the surface and underlying forms of a language.

A further area for the theoretical linguist deals with differences between several types of language situations. As was mentioned earlier, there are apparent similarities between the forms used by children on certain levels of acquisition in standard English and nonstandard forms. It may also be noted that in pidginization, certain modifications in a

language may arise which also show similarities to levels of acquisition. Furthermore, in language interference of certain types there is an approximation of some adaptations that take place in pidginization. Assuming (and only descriptive studies can tell us if our assumption is correct or not) that there are similarities between these many types of language "modifications," it does not appear that such similarities are accidental. We must ask if there is something inherent within a language system which "predisposes certain types of features for modification" in situations such as acquisition, pidginization and interference. To what extent may we generalize and say that certain aspects of a language are predisposed for modification (e.g. because of "redundancy" or "functional load")? What aspects may be universal and what ones language-specific? The relation of research to this theoretical problem may give us important clues to universal traits of social dialects with relation to linguistic structure.

In addition to the broad theoretical issues raised above, there are more specific issues which future sociolinguistic research can help answer. Several of the outstanding issues are as follows:

(1) What is the role of social factors in historical language change? What implications do they have for speeding up and retarding change and how do such processes operate? (See some answers to the problem, Labov (1965a) and Anshen (1969)).

(2) How does dialect mixture between social dialects contrast and compare with "inherent variability within a system? Related to this is the question of how overlapping systems may operate in a speech community or within a single speaker.

(3) How does hypercorrection relate to the linguistic system? That is, to what extent can the type of hypercorrection and the extent of it be predicted on the basis of the language and social system?

(4) What can the study of social dialects tell us about receptive and productive language competence? Does this apply to all dialect differences or only certain structural categories? Is it reciprocal between social dialects?

One could go on about the general and specific implications that future research must have on current theoretical issues in linguistics.

What is more important for the linguist, however, is a general approach to sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistic research could simply be understood to mean the description of correlations between linguistic and social factors, without reference to any implications that these might have for theoretical problems in linguistics. Such studies would, no doubt, have great value for a number of reasons. But for the linguist, sociolinguistic studies have greatest relevance when they are specifically designed to solve linguistic problems through an investigation of social factors.

Notes

1. This is not to say that there is unanimous agreement among anthropologists about the extent to which cultural relativity is a philosophical, descriptive or methodological prerequisite for anthropological study. For an explication of some of the controversy concerning cultural relativity, see Schmidt (1955).

2. Nida (1964:47) notes that the arbitrary character of linguistic symbols refers to: (1) the arbitrary relationship between the form of the symbol and the form of the reference, (2) the relationships between classes of symbols and classes of referents, and (3) the relationship between classes of symbols and classes of symbols.

3. One should be careful to note the distinction between "interference in conceptual development" and the Whorfian hypothesis, which maintains that language categories predetermine particular conceptualizations of the external world. In the former case a value judgment is placed on the adequacy of conceptualization, while the latter, no value judgment is made.

4. This sentence could, of course, be interpreted positively in a context such as He didn't do just nothing; he was always busy. Usually, however, there is a strong stress on nothing to indicate this intention.

5. Although the notion of deep and surface structure in modern linguistics derived from the insights of transformational-generative grammar, any generative model of language will be characterized by the recognition of this dichotomy. For example, this notion is implicit in stratificational grammar, although the series of steps (i.e. how many levels) and the mode for relating levels (how one gets from one level to another) may differ significantly from transformational-generative grammar.

6. It is interesting to note that a sample of language indices Bereiter cites as indicative of language competence (1965:199-200) have nothing to do with language. He consistently confuses the recognition of logical operations with language development.

7. The different models for describing nonstandard dialects were originally explicated by Cazden (1966).

8. By social class, I mean a group in a society whose members hold a number of distinctive statuses in common and who, through the operation of these roles associated with these statuses, develop an awareness of like traits and interests as against the unlike traits and interests of other groups (Hoebel 1958:415).

9. To say that there is a tendency toward language standardization in no way implies that there will be agreement on the establishment of one standard language in a particular national setting. There may be competing languages for standardization, or considerable disagreement concerning a chosen standard.

10. This fact does not imply that it is futile to "campaign" against the misconceptions about the linguistic structure of nonstandard dialects. Indeed, linguists can help clarify that the notion of language standardization is a social phenomenon which has nothing to do with the inherent linguistic structure of the language varieties involved.

11. The report of current research only includes articles which were brought to my attention through 1969.

12. Nonstandard dialects have, of course, always received incidental attention in prescriptive English textbooks which point out "incorrect" speech patterns to be avoided.

13. This choice is by no means accidental since most linguists agree that if there are any significant differences between Black English and Standard English, they will be found in the verb system.

14. Although Labov includes Puerto Rican speech in his title, the actual description is limited to the Puerto Ricans who are integral members of the Negro speech community.

15. This position does not preclude the possibility that historically, alternations may have been importations. It simply means that from a synchronic standpoint, fluctuation is an inherent part of the Black English system.

16. These directions, no doubt, reflect the biases of the author. However, many of these directions have been discussed with colleagues at one time or another, so that they represent more than personal preferences.

17. Only by relating it to nonstandard norms can we have some indication of <u>actual</u> language retardation by a small minority of lower socioeconomic class children. Current studies which utilize Standard English norms of acquisition erroneously categorize a majority of these children as being linguistically retarded (a case of <u>misconceived retardation</u>).

References

Anshen, Frank. A sociolinguistic analysis of a sound change. Paper presented at the Linguistic Society of America, Champaign, Illinois, July, 1969.

Bailey, Beryl Loftman. Toward a new perspective in Negro English dialectology, American Speech 40 (1965), 171-177.

Bailey, C.J.N. The integration of linguistic theory: internal reconstruction and comparative method in descriptive linguistics, Working Papers in Linguistics No. 2 (1969a), 85-122.

-----. Implicational scales in diachronic linguistics and dialectology, Working Papers in Linguistics No. 8 (1969b), 123-137.

Baratz, Joan C. Teaching reading in an urban Negro school system, in Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy (Eds.), Teaching black children to read. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics. 1969. pp. 92-116.

Bereiter, Carl. Academic instruction and preschool children, in Richard Corbin and Muriel Crosby (Eds.), Language programs for the disadvantaged. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965. pp. 195-203.

----- and Siegfried Englemann. Teaching disadvantaged children in the preschool. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Bernstein, Basil. Elaborated and restricted codes: Their social origins and some consequences, American Anthropologist 66.6, Part 2 (1964), 55-69.

Billiard, Charles, Arnold Lazarus and Raven McDavid. Dialect features affecting the social mobility and economic opportunities of the disadvantaged in Fort Wayne, Indiana. U.S. Office of Education, Contract No. 9-E011, 1969.

Bright, William. Linguistic change in some Indian caste dialects, in Charles A. Ferguson and John Gumperz (Eds.), Linguistic diversity in South Asia. International Journal of American Linguistics 26:3, Part 3 (1960), 19-26.

-----. Introduction: The dimensions of sociolinguistics, in William Bright (Ed.), Sociolinguistics. The Hague: Mouton, 1966. pp. 11-15.

Cazden, Courtney B. Subcultural differences in child language: An interdisciplinary review, Merrill Palmer Quarterly 12 (1966), 185-219.

Chomsky, Noam. Aspects of the theory of syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965.

-----. Language and Mind. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968.

Cochrane, G.R. The Australian English vowels as a diasystem, Word 15 (1959), 69-88.

DeCamp, David. Toward a generative analysis of a post-Creole speech continuum. Paper presented at the Conference on Pidginization and Creolization of Language, Mona, Jamaica, 1968.

-----. Toward a formal theory of sociolinguistics. Unpublished MS, 1969.

Dillard, Joey L. Age-grading in language and culture. Unpublished MS. 1967.

-----. Negro children's dialect in the inner city, The Florida FL Reporter 5 (Fall 1967), 7-10.

Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. An analysis of the interaction of language, topic and listener, American Anthropologist 66:6, Part 2 (1964), 86-102.

-----. Sociolinguistics. Working Paper No. 3, Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

Fasold, Ralph W. Tense and the form be in Black English, Language 45 (1969), 763-776.

-----. Two models of socially significant linguistic variation, Language 46 (1970), 51-63.

Fischer, John L. Social influences on the choice of a linguistic variant, Word 14 (1958), 47-56.

Galvan, Mary M. and Rudolf C. Troike. The East Texas Dialect Project. Austin, Texas, University of Texas, 1969.

Garvin, Paul and Madeleine Mathiot. The urbanization of the Guarani language: A problem in language and culture, in A.F.C. Wallace (Ed.), Men and Cultures; Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956. pp. 783-790.

Golden, Ruth I. Effectiveness of instructional tapes for changing regional speech. Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1963.

Gumperz, John J. Dialect differences and social stratification in a North Indian village, American Anthropologist 60 (1958a), 668-681.

-----. Phonological differences in three Hindi village dialects, Language 34 (1958b), 221-224.

-----. Speech variation and the study of Indian civilization, American Anthropologist 63 (1961), 976-988.

-----. Linguistic and social interaction in two communities, American Anthropologist 66:6, Part 2 (1964), 137-153.

Havrànek, Bohuslav. The functional differentiation of the standard language, in Paul L. Garvin (Ed.), A Prague school reader in esthetics, literary structure, and style. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 1964. pp. 3-16.

Hockett, Charles F. Age-grading and linguistic continuity, Language 26 (1950), 449-457.

Henrie, Samuel N. A study of verb phrases used by five year old nonstandard Negro English speaking children. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

Hoebel, E. Adamson. Man in the primitive world. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1958.

Houston, Susan. A sociolinguistic consideration of the Black English of children in northern Florida, Language 45 (1969), 599-607.

Hurst, Charles G. Psychological correlates of dialectolalia. Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1965.

Hymes, Dell H. The ethnography of speaking, in Thomas Gladwin and William C. Sturtevant (Eds.), Anthropology and human behavior. Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington, 1962. pp. 15-53.

-----. Introduction: Toward ethnographies of communication, American Anthropologist 66:6, Part 2 (1964), 1-34.

-----. Linguistic theory and the functions of speech. Paper to be published in proceedings of "International Days of Linguistics", Rome, 1969.

Kernan, Claudia Mitchell. Language behavior in a black urban community. Working Paper No. 23, Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

Kochman, Thomas. "Rapping" in the black ghetto, Trans-action 6 (February 1969), 26-34.

Kurath, Hans. Handbook of the linguistic geography of New England. Providence: American Council of Learned Societies, 1939.

-----. Linguistic atlas of New England. Providence: American Council of Learned Societies, 1941.

-----. A word geography of the eastern United States. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949.

Labov, William. Phonological indices to social stratification. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 1963a.

-----. The social motivation of a sound change, Word 19 (1963b), 273-309.

-----. On the mechanism of linguistic change, Georgetown University Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics 18 (1965a), 91-114.

-----. Stages in the acquisition of standard English, in Roger W. Shuy (Ed.) Social dialects and language learning. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965b. pp. 77-104.

-----. The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966a.

-----. Hypercorrection by the lower middle class as a factor in linguistic evaluation, in William Bright (Ed.), Sociolinguistics. The Hague: Mouton, 1966b. pp. 84-113.

-----. Contraction, deletion, and inherent variation of the English copula, Language 45 (1969a), 715-762.

-----. The study of non-standard English. Washington, D.C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969b.

-----. The logic of nonstandard English, Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 22 (1970), 1-43.

-----, Paul Cohen, Clarence Robins and John Lewis. A study of the nonstandard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. Final report. Cooperative Research Project 3288, Office of Education, 1968.

Legum, Stanley E., Clyde E. Williams and Maureen T. Lee. Social dialects and their implications for beginning reading instruction. Inglewood, Calif.: Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1969.

Levine, Lewis and Harry J. Crockett, Jr. Speech variation in a Piedmont community: Postvocalic -r, in Stanley Lieberson (Ed.), Explorations in Sociolinguistics. The Hague: Mouton, 1966. pp. 76-98.

Loban, Walter D. Problems of oral English. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966.

Loflin, Marvin D. A teaching problem in nonstandard Negro English, English Journal 56 (1967a), 1312-1314.

-----. On the structure of the verb in a dialect of American Negro English. Report No. 26, Center for Research in Social Behavior, University of Missouri, 1967b.

-----. Negro nonstandard and standard English: Same or different deep structure?, Orbis 18 (1969), 74-91.

-----. On the passive in nonstandard Negro English, Journal of English as a Second Language, 4 (Spring 1969), 19-23.

Ma, Roxana and Eleanor Herosimchuk. Linguistic dimensions of a bilingual neighborhood, in Joshua Fishman et al (Eds.), Bilingualism in the barrio. Final Report. Contract No. OEC-1-7106287-0297, U.S. Office of Education, 1968. pp. 638-835.

McDavid, Raven I., Jr. Postvocalic r in South Carolina: A social analysis, American Speech 23 (1948), 194-203.

-----. A checklist of significant features for discriminating social dialects, in Eldonna L. Evertts (Ed.), Dimensions of dialect. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967. pp. 7-10.

-----. Variations in standard American English, Elementary English 45 (1968), 561-564, 608.

----- and William M. Austin. Communication barriers for the culturally deprived. Cooperative Research Project 2107, Office of Education, 1967.

McKay, June Rumery. A partial analysis of a variety of nonstandard Negro English. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969.

Menyuk, Paula. Sentences children use. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969.

Nida, Eugene A. Toward a science of translating. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.

Parslow, Robert, Julie Ries, Mary Bruder et al. Pittsburgh Dialect Project. University of Pittsburgh, 1968.

Pederson, Lee A. The pronunciation of English in metropolitan Chicago. Publication of the American Dialect Society No. 44, University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1965.

Pickford, Glenna Ruth. American linguistic geography: A sociolinguistic appraisal, Word 12 (1956), 211-235.

Schmidt, Paul F. Some criticisms of cultural relativism, Journal of Philosophy 52 (1955), 780-791.

Shuy, Roger W., Walter A. Wolfram and William Riley. Linguistic correlates of social stratification in Detroit speech. Final report. Cooperative Research Project 6-1347, U.S. Office of Education, 1967.

-----. Field techniques in an urban language study. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1968.

Skinner, D.F. Verbal Behavior. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957.

Slobin, Dan I. A field manual for cross-cultural study of the acquisition of communicative competence. Berkeley, University of California, 1967.

Stewart, William A., ed. Non-standard speech and the teaching of English. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1964.

-----. Urban Negro speech: Sociolinguistic factors affecting English teaching, in Roger W. Shuy (Ed.), Social dialects and language learning. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965. pp. 10-18.

-----. Sociolinguistic factors in the history of American Negro dialects, The Florida FL Reporter 5 (Spring 1967) 11, 22, 24, 26.

-----. Continuity and change in American Negro dialects, The Florida FL Reporter 6 (Spring 1968) 3-4, 14-16, 18.

Weinreich, Uriel. Languages in contact. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953.

-----. Is structural dialectology possible?, Word 10 (1954), 388-400.

Williamson, Juanita. The phonological and morphological study of the speech of the Negro of Memphis, Tennessee. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan 1961.

Wolfram, Walter A. A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.

-----. Linguistic correlates of social differences in the Negro community, Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 22 (1970a), 249-257.

-----. Underlying representations in Black English phonology, Language Science 10 (April 1970b), 7-12.

RESPONSE TO

Social Dialects from a Linguistic Perspective

William J. Samarin, University of Toronto

My stance is entirely different from Wolfram's and, curiously enough, from that of everybody else as expressed in this volume. In approaching the study of social dialects, I should like to hear answers to the question, "Who are we?", and I do not mean "we linguists." When I say "we," I mean, specifically, the American people. For me, therefore, the answer to the question, "Who are we?" will be based in part at least, on linguistic data - in defining the languages we speak and in describing who "we" are who speak them.

I start with an urbanized, industrialized, multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multidialectal society. That is the macrosociety. From there we work down to the microsocieties, that is, the societies that have prestige or no prestige, societies that are large or small, conspicuous or invisible to the others, but all somehow marked by the use of characteristic forms of languages. There are the "social dialects" of our nation, because, as defined by Halliday, they are found among certain socially-defined users.

What Needs to be Done

We need to disabuse ourselves of the notion that the most interesting or most typical social dialects are those spoken by the largest of the "socially deprived" or "marginal" members of our macrosociety, especially those who speak some form of nonstandard English. Equally worthy of investigation are the societies and the languages of indigenous Americans (the Indians), of "new Americans" (immigrants of all types), and of "old Americans" (like the Spanish-Americans, the chicanos).

If these are accepted as social dialects, to say, as Wolfram has, that nonstandard dialects have received little attention would not be entirely accurate. One need only mention the studies on the English of immigrant groups, for example; and some studies, like those of Haugen and Fishman are even sociolinguistic in nature. I would like to urge, therefore,

that this literature, vast but not always of superior quality, be incorporated in the comprehensive study of American society.

What I am calling for is an examination of our "fences." In other words, what kinds of languages are used in the definition of ethnicity, of being chez soi? How is language (used here in the broadest sense) used symbolically to separate one "backyard" from another?

I shall suggest now the nature, if nothing more, of the answer to that question.

1. Wolfram deals with part of it. He discusses, from several points of view, the structural correlates or signals of social dialects. Prosodics and paralinguistics might also be mentioned (see, for example, D. Crystal). These are the linguistic markers, to use the term "linguistic" in a broad sense. This is like talking about the form of language.

2. There is also function in this nicely-aged dichotomy. How, in other words, is language used by our different societies? Differences in function may be as significant as (and theoretically even more important than) differences in form. That they are more subtle, hence less easily studied, is no reason for our ignoring them.

As a matter of fact, there is implicit recognition of functional differences in some descriptions of, for example, the Black Society. "Sounding" and "rapping" are two examples, even though they may not be the private property of our Black co-citizens. There are suggestions in the present data that Blacks and other linguistic minorities may differ significantly in characteristic uses of language. (Therefore, even if it were demonstrated that certain forms of Black English are indistinguishable from, say, "Southern White" English, we would, on the basis of such functional differences, have to isolate two kinds of speech communities. Whether one wanted to call them "dialects" is another matter.) There is, of course, no suggestion here of any a priori inferiority of one set of functions as compared with another.

3. Such a study ought to include the investigation of interlingual contact. What happens when two languages confront each other at some point in time? What accommodations are made? It is inconceivable that speech is unaffected by the confrontation. (Does a Black waiter modify his speech when he serves an upper-class Black in an expensive restaurant?) There will, I believe, be gestures of exploration, feelers put out to see

how the other person will receive the changes. Perhaps a diagnostic characteristic of socially inferior societies is that their speech has more fluctuation, this itself being a function of practiced accommodation.

One way to approach this topic might be with the use of the concept of stress or strain. In what way, for example, is the language, as structure, of a nonstandard speaker under strain? In what way and under what conditions is the speaker as a user of the language under strain, and how does it affect his performance? There is some evidence that a "formal situation" constitutes such a context for many people, but the data are still scanty and they have not been adequately formalized.

What I am calling for, then, is a typology of American language use. It would, of course, include information about (a) "registers" (which Halliday, again, defines as forms of speech that are correlated with language use) and (b) genres of discourse. Do all of our societies have the same kinds of registers? Are some registers and genres preferred over others? What can be said about their status and frequency of occurrence within that society?

Cooperation Needed

A sociolinguistic goal of the kind I am suggesting cannot be realized by a group of people who narrowly define themselves as "linguists." It would need the help also of linguistically sensitive anthropologists and sociologists. This is suggested by the problem of explaining why Black women, even unmarried girls, are more sensitive to linguistic differences between Black and Standard speech than are men. Shuy has discussed this matter, and Wolfram, in his present paper, wonders if male linguistic conservatism is a symbol of masculinity among Blacks. Obviously, the isolation of cultural symbols is not within the domain of scientific linguistics as many of its practitioners define it coday. And when Wolfram asks if a linguistic model should incorporate context-sensitive rules whose environment is stated in extra-linguistic factors, he must, I think, necessarily ask, "Who will define these factors for us?" In answering, "The social anthropologist or someone like him," I would only be repeating what many have said before me. Finally, we must acknowledge that our language teachers (students of "Miss Fiditch" though they often are) and students of literature may teach us something about the use of language in the United States.

The Consequences

The sociolinguistic study of American society (notice how I avoid saying "the study of American social dialects") from the point of view suggested here would have several consequences.

First, it would provide us with better means to evaluate the "adequacy" of American languages. Perhaps it can be demonstrated, for example, that, given the ecology of our kind of urbanized nation, a microsociety can no more afford the luxury of its own language than traditional farmers in India can refuse modern tools and fertilizers. The linguistic situation could be looked at in terms of adaptation and survival (as Hymes has suggested). For example, Spanish-Americans are at some disadvantage without an abundant literature in Spanish, unless, of course, that literature's function be only to mark the society's discontinuity with "Anglo" society. We must therefore see Wolfram's reminder of linguistic doctrine (that "all language systems are perfectly adequate as communicative systems for the members of the social group") in its historical, not scientific, context; as a caveat against people who look down on, for example, Black speech because it is spoken by Blacks. Perhaps jet aircraft provides a better analogy than farmers: they are marvelous instruments, but they need adequate facilities for being launched.

Secondly, we might also learn that although the linguistic systems of some societies are equivalent, the people themselves show different kinds of skill in their uses. If it is clear, for example, that working class people show less skill in organizing narrative discourse, as some have claimed (Schatzman and Strauss), they might be better at writing poetry or drama, for all we know. Perhaps our measurements of linguistic skills preclude the demonstration of skills that are not favored by our middle-class, analytically-oriented society (as R. Cohen would suggest).

Thirdly, such a study might make us more sensitive to differences in the social meaning of language use. As responsible participants in our macrosociety, we must be aware of, and we must make others aware of, the social consequences of language use. This kind of information must be accessible to all Americans.

A Humanistic Point of View

The kinds of projects and problems I have mentioned in these few

remarks are linguistic in nature, not only because the subject is speech but also because it is the discipline of linguistics that is most competent to study them. They are, however, something else. They are human problems. They touch on human self-identity, on aspirations, on hopes for self-fulfillment. Touching language is touching man deep inside him. This is why linguistics, when it studies social dialects, becomes humanistic. And its outcome is likewise humanistic: it leads to self-understanding, respect, and humility. Whatever might be the political and economic imperatives of a modern nation, they must not subjugate the people who make up the nation. The structure is built, after all, with blocks of humanity, and language is only its mortar.

References

Cohen, Rosalie A. 1969. Conceptual styles, culture conflict, and nonverbal tests of intelligence. American Anthropologist 71.828-56.

Crystal, David. 1970. Prosodic and paralinguistic correlates of social categories. Social Anthropology and Language. (Association of Social Anthropology Monograph, 10.)

Halliday, M.A.K., Angus McIntosh, and Peter Strevens. 1964. The linguistic sciences and language teaching. London: Longmans.

Hymes, Dell H. 1961. Functions of speech: An evolutionary approach. Anthropology and education, ed. by Frederick C. Gruber. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Reprinted in Man in adaptation: The biosocial background, ed. by Yehudi A. Cohen. 247-59. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

Schatzman, L. and A. Strauss. 1955. Social class and modes of communication. The American Journal of Sociology 60.329-38. Reprinted in Communication and Culture, ed. by Alfred G. Smith, 442-55. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Shuy, Roger W. Sex as a factor in sociolinguistic research. Unpublished paper presented at a meeting of the Anthropological Society of Washington.

THE INADEQUACIES OF THE LINGUISTIC APPROACH IN TEACHING SITUATIONS*

Siegfried Engelmann, University of Illinois

The linguist's criticisms of structured language programs such as the Bereiter-Engelmann program seem to divide into three phases:

1. The linguist contends that the analysis used by these educators is false and dangerous;
2. The linguist asserts that the programs deriving from these analyses are harmful, primarily because they fly in the face of linguistic theoretical premises and empirical conclusions;
3. The linguist implies that he, by virtue of his theory and research, is able to design programs that are better for motivating children, better for communication, and perhaps better for the welfare of the children and the community in which they live.

The linguist's position is flatly absurd. He has neither the evidence nor the theory that would support such an exalted position. Perhaps the linguist takes the lack of response from educators, particularly behaviorists, as an indication that they are intimidated by the prowess of linguistic theory and research. Actually, the lack of response most probably stems from the potential respondent's pre-occupation with activities more productive than discrediting the absurd. In the context of the present volume, however, I feel that a rebuttal is in order.

Let's start with the most basic question: Does the linguistic position imply any kind of instruction? The answer is no. Wolfram tells us why in his discussion of deficit and difference models of language. "...a difference model, which seems to be much more common to anthropology than sociology and psychology, considers socially subordinate societies and language varieties as self-contained systems, inherently neither

---

* Editor's Note: Since both Dr. Cazden and Dr. Wolfram take issue specifically with the Bereiter-Engelmann approach, we invited Mr. Engelmann to comment upon these criticisms as well as other topics covered at the conference. Reference is made primarily to the Cazden and Wolfram papers in this volume and William Labov's "The Logic of Nonstandard English". (Labov's paper appears in James E. Alatis, ed., Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No. 22, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970. Reprinted in Frederick Williams, ed., Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme, Chicago: Markham, 1970.)

deficient nor superior" (p. 91). The linguist, in other words, is not in a strong position to talk about "improving" language of a given child or a given group. Improvement implies changing specific behaviors in a prescribed way, and the act of teaching is based on improvement. When we teach a child to read, we change his behavior. When we teach the child how to use a new word, we change his behavior. Teaching, in other words, is premised on the idea that certain forms of behavior are inferior to others. These behaviors are not simply categorized as being "different" for the obvious reason that if they were, no instruction would follow. We would say of the child who does not understand the meaning of the words not, or under, or quadratic equation, "He's just a little different," and we would do nothing about it.

Let's take it a step farther and ask another question: How can the linguist recommend particular teaching programs and attack others as being dangerous? There does not seem to be any theoretically legitimate way that he can draw such a conclusion. Does linguistic theory articulate a single principle for changing language behavior? No. The theory is basically a taxonomy, an after-the-fact classification of language behaviors. There is not a single principle that describes the mechanism of language change. We are given statements about how language "develops," but we are not told how to change language. We are not told how to manipulate variables that would change the way in which a child uses language.

We can perhaps best illustrate the irrelevance of linguistics to teaching by referring to a concrete example. Let's say that we wanted to teach a child a new concept. This child does not have the concept red. He speaks a foreign language, which means that he has probably never produced statements such as, "It's red. The truck is red" and so forth. Our goal in teaching this child red is to produce changes in his behavior. After instruction, we should be able to present any object, even those that had not been presented during our teaching presentation. The child should be able to indicate appropriately whether or not each of the objects is red, using appropriate statements (including partial statements). Our teaching presentation will involve examples, teacher statements, and signals for the child to produce specific responses. Our goal is specific. We do not want the child, after instruction, to point to red things and

indicate that they are not red. We do not want him to stand around in a dark room and run off statements, such as, "This ball is red." We do not want him to echo the statements of his instructor.

The problems facing the teacher are: What kinds of examples should be presented? How should the examples be similar to each other? How should they differ? What kind of statements are to be presented to the child? What kind of reinforcer should be used to support correct responses? What kind of corrections should be used to reduce error? What kind of responses (including statement responses) should be elicited from the child?

If linguistic theory and research are valuable for teaching situations, it should contain principles to guide every aspect of our presentation. It should have principles that indicate the types of examples that should be presented to the child. It should have principles that specify how to reinforce and correct. It should have principles that indicate the types of statements the teacher should use to avoid confusion and to speed the child's mastery of the concept. It should have principles that would guide a test to see whether or not the child is able to generalize his knowledge of the concept to examples that had not been presented during the structured instruction. And it should have principles that indicate how to induce the appropriate kind of language behavior in the child.

Paradoxically enough, linguistic theory contains not a single principle that is needed in the teaching situation. A teaching situation never implies "language" in the abstract; it always implies the appropriate use of language by the learner, i.e. appropriate in terms of a specific objective. Yet, linguistic theory deals with language as something that is abstracted from the "logical operations" or the appropriate use of language. As Wolfram notes, "Whatever deficiencies in logical operations may or may not exist among black ghetto children, these have nothing to do with language" (p. 89). He further suggests that a sample of language indices Bereiter cites as indicative of language competence have nothing to do with language. Bereiter, according to Wolfram, "consistently confuses the recognition of logical operations with language development" (p. 128).

Let's look at several of the items that Bereiter, in his confusion, offered as indices of language competence.

1. Ability to use both affirmative and "not" statements in reply to the question, "What is this?"; "This is a ball. This is not a book."
2. Ability to name positive and negative instances for at least four classes, such as tools, weapons, pieces of furniture, *wild animals, farm animals, and vehicles.*
3. Ability to use "not" in deductions: "If a square is little, what else can you say about it?"; "It is not red."

According to Wolfram, these are not legitimate indices of language competence. Language competence is therefore something that has nothing to do with the types of tasks in which judgments are to be made by the child. Language competence has only to do with the sounds that issue from one's mouth; at least that seems to be the most apparent conclusion. What this means is that the analysis of language provided by the linguist applies to virtually no teaching situation, since there is virtually no teaching situation in which the objective is merely to have the child run off sentences that are appropo of nothing. Linguistic theory cannot and does not relate language, in any way, to the "outside world," which means that the theory cannot make any statements about the relationship between the appropriateness of a child's response when he points to an object and says, "This is red." So far as the linguist is concerned, it is an acceptable statement even though the child may be pointing to a blue object. From a teaching standpoint, "This is red" is an acceptable statement under certain conditions. Under others, it is not. The condition (what the child is pointing to) is not abstracted from the child's language behavior.

Given the rather obvious limitations of linguistic theory and its lack of relevance to teaching, some of the statements and criticisms made by linguists seem to be statements of gut feelings rather than statements that clearly derive from theory and evidence.

Another unusual characteristic of the linguistic approach is the discrepancy between the language of a group and the language of an individual. The language of a group is analyzed not only according to the structure but also according to the meaning of the various lexical items in the language. That this is the case is clearly implied by the linguist's preoccupation with finding semantic examples (the word rapping in the Wolfram paper, for example). If the linguist is concerned with word meaning as part of language, then there should be some concern about whether or not an individual who "has a particular language" is able to

demonstrate behaviorally that he shares the "normative" meaning for a given word. Language, however, somehow becomes magically independent of meaning when the linguist talks about the individual. All questions of meaning now become questions of "logical operations." Why then does the linguist introduce semantic examples in the first place? Is he prepared to stipulate that X percent of the people using a particular lexical item understand the meaning that he has assigned to it? Is he prepared to indicate the mechanism by which the child learns the appropriate usage of such words as "rapping?"

In summary, it would seem to follow that if the description of a language includes notations about the meanings of lexical items, it begs the question when dealing with an individual user of the language to say that his language is somehow independent of his meanings. Paradoxically, however, this is what the linguist does.

The gulf between educational and linguistic approaches, strangely enough, may actually be a trivial one created by the linguists and may relate to the linguists' apparent inability to relate the usage of a word by an individual to the ideal meaning of the word. It may be that the linguist has failed to discover from analysis of the language used by some educators that they do not share the linguistic interpretation of the word language. For the linguist the word has a very special meaning. Ironically, he seems to think that his meaning is not merely different from but superior to other meanings of the same word. His usage is right and the educational usage is wrong.

Let's accept the linguist's orientation for the sake of argument. Let's say that the problem with children who lack language skills is not a language problem, but rather one of logical operations. The remedy that would follow would seem then to come from a field that can articulate principles by which children who are deficient can be taught logical operations. Is this person the linguist? Hardly. Yet, the linguist doesn't seem to understand that by his own evaluation of the language problem, he has ruled himself out as an expert. And he somehow manages to continue, as Labov does, when he discusses "... the need for reading and writing programs which are based on specific knowledge of the dialect and culture of the students." In what ways will Labov's expertise help him? His knowledge of dialect does not tell him a great deal about

the knowledge of a child who has the dialect but does not understand many of the words that he may use. His knowledge does not tell him a great deal about how to motivate children, how to manipulate reinforcers. Nor does it tell him a great deal about how to teach or how to construct a program that will induce desired reading and writing behavior more rapidly. Labov's assertion would be analagous to the contention of a chemist who says, "I am an expert on chemical elements. Therefore I can tell you how to build a ship."

Furthermore, the data seems to indicate that dialect is not a primary variable in the performance of young children (see Cazden). This may mean that Labov's expertise may be even more irrelevant to teaching than knowledge of chemistry to the engineering task of building a ship.

What kind of programs can Labov suggest by virtue of his theory and his evidence? For every reading approach that he suggests, another linguist can suggest a different approach. For every language program that he proposes another linguist can propose a different program. Yet, all of the linguists work from the same theory, the same evidence. Why is such inconsistency possible? Simply because linguistic theory does not imply instruction. It does not imply what should be taught or how it should be taught. It does not imply that reading should be taught in a dialect. It does not imply that the program should be one of linguistic patterns or paragraph reading. It does not imply what kind of reinforcers should be used, even though some who have been lured by the linguistic approach seem to think that approaches that change dialects are criminal, unmotivating and dangerous.

Labov's data may suggest that certain approaches are harmful. For example, he indicates that "Those who know the sociolinguistic situation cannot doubt that reaction against the Bereiter-Engelmann approach in later years will be even more violent on the part of the students involved, and the rejection of the school system will be even more categorical." I would like it if Labov would share with us the data on which the above summary is based. Apparently, there is already something of a violent reaction on the part of the students in our program. Apparently our measures of the children's attitudes (and that of their parents) is totally wrong, since our data shows that there is no such reaction and, in fact, that the opposite is true. Perhaps our investigation techniques

are less sophisticated than Labov's. I am sure that Labov would not think of making such a statement unless he had data that was overwhelmingly superior to ours, and I certainly would like to see this data.

Since this paper will hopefull be the last in which I discuss the linguistic approach, I would like to comment on some of the points in the Wolfram and Cazden papers.

Wolfram: "We see in the case of Black English multiple negation, that the basis for arguing for its supposed illogicality is found in the mistaken identity of a surface structure for a deep structure" (p. 89). I have never used the argument and have never heard it. Furthermore, it is a poor one, both for those who would propose it and for the linguist who would try to discredit it. Multiple negations are not unique to Black English, nor are most of the other attributes that the linguist assigns to Black English. Therefore to set them up as something that sets Black English apart from South Side "Polish" or "Italian" would be to create something of a straw man.

Wolfram: "...Bereiter maintains that a difference between the negative patterns of Black English and Standard English is an indication that the black ghetto child is 'deprived of one of the most powerful and logical tools our language provides'" (p. 89). Here is the entire paragraph in which Bereiter supposedly impugns Black English.

> The paper that I have been circulating by Siegfried Engelmann is an attempt to identify those specific weaknesses in the language of preschool disadvantaged children that seem on logical grounds to be crucial from the point of view of academic learning. On the basis of this kind of analysis we have constructed a preschool program that tries, through direct and intensive teaching, to remedy these lacks. We have not been very much concerned with many of those aspects of language which serve mainly social or expressive purposes--standard vocabulary, idiomatic expression, intonation, niceties of agreement and the like. It has not bothered us so much that a child may not know the word sheep as that he does not know the word not, for while in the former case a child might encounter an occasional difficulty, in the latter case he is deprived of one of the most powerful logical tools our language provides--a tool, moreover, which it is assumed in schoolwork that a child possesses from the very beginning. In our program, we have been less concerned with the child's lack of empirical knowledge than with his lack of ability to derive knowledge from statements. It seems to us far less serious that a child might not know that milk comes from cows than that he might not be able to tell you where milk came from after he had been told.

Where is there one word about Black English or one inference about

the inefficiency of Black English? Where is there even the stipulation that the problems noted above are peculiar to black children?

Wolfram: "Bereiter claims that a black ghetto child 'does not know the word not' since his subjects did not regularly give him the form in negating a sentence such as This is not a book.... In the first place, he has confused the inability of the student to give him the word not in a specific elicitation task with the child's unfamiliarity with the lexical item.... Intensive research on the structure of Black English in Washington, D.C. and Detroit clearly indicates that not is an integral part of Black English" (p. 89). In the first place, the judgment about the child's ability to handle the word not is never based solely on elicitation tasks. As we have indicated in many places, there are several possible types of "not knowing." The child may be able to produce statements and not have a fully generalized idea of what the word means (as indicated by his ability to generalize to a full range of examples). The child may not be able to produce statements with the word not but may understand the word thoroughly (as implied by his ability to handle tasks in which under instruction, he points to things that are not a boy or not a car, etc.). The child may not be able to produce the statement and may not understand either the word not or the word ain't (again as indicated by behavior). In the second place, Wolfram's argument seems somewhat less than compelling. If it is true, for whatever reason, that a child is unable to perform in response to a particular set of tasks that are similar to those that he will encounter in numerous situations, such as tasks involving the word not, should we take his inability to perform as evidence that he can use the word not? This seems to be Wolfram's position. Should we tell the child, "We know you've got the concept because our subjects in Detroit and Washington, D.C. have it?" Or should we perhaps be a little less extreme (or less magical) and admit that the child has something of a deficiency in particular types of situations. If we go the former route we may be adumbrating the child's problem with our good will and sentimentality. If we go the latter route, we will try to help the child learn to perform in instructional situations that involve the concept of not.

Wolfram: "Closer investigation of this claim reveals that these children are considered to be linguistically retarded, and, in many cases,

to be cognitively deficient simply because they do not speak Standard English" (p. 94). As a linguist, Wolfram should remain totally disinterested in the children's performance, both their language performance and their non-language performance. The question of performance is within the domain of the psychologist or perhaps the instructor but certainly not the linguist. Wolfram seems intent on trying to make it look as if the child's dialect is being assailed, thus opening the door for the linguist to come to the rescue. This operation is nicely described by Kaplan. "...Give a small boy a hammer and he will find that everything he encounters needs pounding. It comes as no particular surprise to discover that a scientist formulates problems in a way which requires for their solution just those techniques in which he himself is especially skilled."[1]

The fact is that children from impoverished backgrounds are retarded in their performances, both on language and non-language tasks. This fact is supported by fantastic amounts of evidence. Evaluations of Head Start programs and compensatory programs, normative data on performance in schools, data on enrollment in special education classes, data on black teachers and white teachers -- all are consistent. Nobody has to bring in a quasi-linguistic argument to support the conclusion that these children are "cognitively" in trouble. Nobody has to blame the child's dialect. The dialect is not a cause. The lack of teaching of specific skills in the child's home environment is the cause. Neither Bereiter nor I have ever suggested that dialect causes retardation. Further, we have never based conclusions about a child's cognitive performance on such considerations as dialect.

I would now like to consider some of Cazden's comments. Cazden questions our teaching of standard English and our assertion that "it is the child that must be changed." I refer her to my previous comments about changing behavior. We teach standard English for the following reasons:

1. Virtually everything we teach is an item in Black English.

2. The child may not know how to use many words that are shared by both standard English and non-standard English (such as not, which is an integral part of Black English). These words could be programmed in various dialects. The major problem, however, is not one of dialects, but of teaching the words and how they are used. The child is not assisted in learning by presenting an unfamiliar word in his dialect.

Perhaps Cazden could articulate how a demonstration of the word under would be facilitated in a dialect, given that the child does not understand the meaning of the word in the first place, which is true of many young children.

3. Certain discriminations will be far more difficult for the child if we select a particular dialect for the teaching process. For example, let's say that the children say "und" for "under." If we teach under as "und" the child will have a great deal of trouble discriminating between on and under, because the words that we have selected for teaching each of these concepts are very similar. The similarity is reduced if we use the word under. A similar situation occurs in reading. If a child tends to produce the words man, mad, mat, and map as "ma_," he may become very confused. If we based spelling of written words on his pronunciation, he would be evern more confused. "The ma_ had a ma_."

The choice of standard English does not seem such a preposterous one under these conditions, especially since standard English is something of a "universal language" of TV announcers, television characters, reading material, and other forms of mass media.

Cazden suggests that the causes of problems among poor black children may involve something more basic than language. That is a correct observation, if one assumes that what the linguist calls language is actually language, rather than some kind of devoid form. If one accepts the idea that language skills mean just that -- the skills necessary to use language appropriately -- then it is perfectly legitimate to refer to many problems confronting the poor black child as language problems. It certainly does not follow that a person describing language in the broader sense that is implied by the problems confronting the children is guilty of a "...false analysis of that language that Labov rightly so assails." Consider the case that Labov makes:

1. He assails the kind of description provided by Bereiter and Engelmann as inaccurate and dangerous, since it implies that these children have deficiencies.

2. The deficiencies, according to Labov, are probably a function of the test situation, of the meddling procedures used by the insensitive middle-class intruders.

3. Further compounding the situation is the fact that these children are threatened by the strange dialect that they are confronted with in the testing or teaching situation. They cannot relate. They certainly have no deficiency when they use their own dialect, but in this "social situation," they are intimidated.

There is the argument. Unfortunately there are no data to show that the dialect is a primary variable in the performance of young black children, and there are a number of studies to show the opposite, i.e.

that it is a variable, but not a primary one. Cazden, in her paper, cites such studies. She apparently does not see that they destroy her case, not the behaviorist's. The outcomes of these experiments are what we would predict. The only people around contending that dialect is a big variable, or something that we should become excited about, are the linguists. They assail the description that accounts for the deficiencies in the child's performance. They maintain that they are the expert describers of language; yet, they are incapable of describing it in a way that shows the deficiencies. They contend that deficiencies are caused by the meddling or ill-intent of the investigators, and yet, their own studies discredit such assertions.

I think we have spent enough time discrediting the absurd, but before closing, I would like to make it clear that my attack is not against all linguists. There are several rather prominent linguists who have a very solid understanding of the limitations of linguistic (and psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic) theory. To them, my apologies.

NOTES

1. Kaplan, Abraham. 1964. The conduct of inquiry, methodology for behavioral sciences. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company.